# THE BODHISATTVA TI-TSANG (JIZŌ) IN CHINA AND JAPAN

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS



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Fig. 1. Japanese picture representing Jizō, in the shape of a priest, descending on a cloud and standing upon a lotus, with the precious pearl (*cintāmaṇi*) and the staff with metal rings (*khakkhara*). Kamakura period. Royal Museums, Berlin.

## SECTION I.

## KSHITIGARBHA ACCORDING TO THE SŪTRAS, AND HIS CULT IN INDIA, TIBET AND TURKISTAN.

Ti-tsang, called Jizō in Japan, is after Kwanyin, the Japanese Kwannon, the most important Bodhisattva of China and Japan. His name being a translation of *Kshitigarbha*, "Womb of the Earth", Professor CHAVANNES[1] explains the second character of his name (地藏), to be identical with 臟, *tsang*, bowels. In the Chinese Classics the former character is used as well in the sense of *hiding* as in that of *bowels*, and the character 臟 was invented in later times. In my opinion, however, the second character of Ti-tsang's name is to be taken in the sense of "Receptacle", and not be identified with 臟. As first I was inclined to accept CHAVANNES's explanation, but on comparing Ti-tsang's name with the term 胎藏, *t'ai-tsang*, "Receptacle of the pregnant womb", I arrived at the opposite conclusion. The Tantric school distinguishes the "Vajra-World" of the ideas (金剛界, *Kin-kang kiai*, *Kongōkai*, "Diamond world") from the "World of the womb-receptacle" of the phenomena (胎藏界, *T'ai-tsang kiai*, *Taizōkai*). The title of the fourth translation of the Garbha sūtra, mentioned by EITEL in his Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary[2], is 佛說入胎藏會, or "Meeting in which the Buddha explained the entering of the womb-receptacle". In these terms the character 藏 cannot mean "bowels", but is sure to be used in the sense of "receptacle". Moreover, *garbha* means "womb", not "bowels". As to the form 臟, this may be unknown to the Classics, but in the fourth century A. D., when Kshitigarbha's name was translated into Chinese, it must have existed. If the translator by mistake had taken *garbha* in the sense of "bowels", instead of in that of "womb", why should he not have used the full form of the character? For these reasons I prefer to take Ti-tsang's name in the sense of "Receptacle (i. e. womb) of the Earth".

The Tibetans call him *Sai snyiṅ-po*[2], which according to CHANDRA DAS[3], who writes *Ṣahi-sñiṅ-po*, means "Womb of the Earth"; WADDELL[4] explains it in the

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[1] CHAVANNES et PELLIOT, *Un traité manichéen retrouvé en Chine*, Journal Asiatique, dixième série, tome XVIII (1911), p. 549 sq., note 5.

[2] GRÜNWEDEL *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 141.

[3] Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 1261, quoted by CHAVANNES and PELLIOT, l. l., who remark that Bhūmigarbha is to be corrected into Kshitigarbha.

[4] *Lamaism*, p. 358.

same way. It is, at any rate, beyond question that Ti-tsang, Jizō and Sai snyiṅ-po are identical with Kshiti-garbha. Before treating the history of this Bodhisattva in China and Japan we have to examine his position in India and Tibet.

## CHAPTER I.

## KSHITIGARBHA ACCORDING TO THE SŪTRAS.

### § 1. *Indian literature.*

As regards the original Sanscrit texts, Professor SPEYER had the kindness of giving me a translation of some fragments of the *Kshitigarbha sūtra*, found in the *Cikshāsamuccaya* (7th century)[1]. These fragments, however, shed no light with respect to this Bodhisattva's nature, as they do no even mention him.

Professor DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN kindly gave me a passage from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*[2], which he translated as follows: "Wishing to be protected I invoke with all my heart Ākāçagarbha, Kshitigarbha, and all the Great Compassionate Ones." It is interesting to find these two Bodhisattvas, who both belong to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas to be treated below[3], mentioned together in this passage. Mr. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN directed my attention also to the *Threehundred Burkhan*, edited by *Oldenburg*, where Kshitigarbha is represented as nr 148 and Ākāçagarbha as nr 150. These 300 are apparently the same as those of PANDER's *Pantheon des Hutuktu*, mentioned below (Ch. II, § 2), for these two Bodhisattvas form also nrs 148 and 150 of PANDER's work, which also contains three hundred figures with their Tibetan and Chinese names.

Further, Professor DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN pointed out to me that Kshitigarbha's name is found in the *Mahāvyutpatti*[4], a dictionary of terms in which a list of 92 Bodhisattvas is given. Professor SPEYER kindly gave me the names of the eight first Bodhisattvas of this list, namely: Avalokiteçvara, Maitreya, Ākāçagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, Mañjuçrī, Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī and Kshitigarbha. These are exactly the same, enumerated in the same order, as the *Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, to be treated below (this section, Ch. I, § 4).

Although Kshitigarbha belonged to these Eight Great Bodhisattvas, his name is apparently seldom mentioned in Indian literature. Therefore we have to consult the Chinese Tripiṭaka for getting information about his nature.

### § 2. *The "Sūtra on the Original Vow of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha."*

The main sūtra on Kshitigarbha, translated from Sanscrit into Chinese and found in the Chinese Buddhist canon, is the *Ti-tsang P'u-sah pen-yuen king*[5],

[1] Ed. BENDALL, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, Nr. I.
[2] II, 52.
[3] Sect. I, Ch. I, §§ 4 sq.; Ch. II §§ 1 sq.
[4] Bibliotheca Buddhica, XIII; § 23, nr. 8.
[5] This sūtra seems to be different from the Kshitigarbha sūtra mentioned in the *Çikshāsamuccaya*, for I did not find in it the passages given there.

地藏菩薩本願經, or "Sūtra on the original vow of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha" This sūtra is mentioned in NANJŌ's *Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* sub nr 1003. It was translated between A. D. 695 and 700 by ÇIKSHĀNANDA, an Indian çramana from Kustana (Khoten), whose works are enumerated by NANJŌ sub nr 145 of Appendix II to his Catalogue.

We read in the first chapter of this sūtra, that the Buddha one day delivered a sermon in the Trāiyastriṃçat heaven in the presence of numberless Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāgas, demons and spirits, all brought or to be brought to perfection by Kshitigarbha in innumerable kalpas past, present and future. At Mañjuçrī's request the Buddha explained in the following way by which actions and by which original vow Kshitigarbha had obtained this wonderful power.

The vow of this Bodhisattva, said he, was so wonderful, that all virtuous men and women of future ages, who on hearing his name should praise, invocate or worship him, or should make offerings to him, or represent him in painting or wood (or stone), should obtain a hundred births in the Trāyastriṃçat heaven and for ever be exempt from falling upon the evil paths. As to the nature of this vow the Buddha taught Mañjuçrī the following.

Innumerable kalpas ago the son of a man of high rank, being a former birth of Kshitigarbha, admired the blessings and majesty of the Buddha of that time[1]. When the latter said that one ought to save all suffering beings for a long, long time, if he wished to become a Buddha, the youth made the following vow in the Buddha's presence: "Henceforth for innumerable kalpas I shall amply establish the proper means for obtaining salvation on behalf of these sinful and suffering living beings of the six *gati*, and after having saved them all I shall become a Buddha myself, 我今盡未來際不可計刧爲是罪苦六衆道生廣設方便盡令解脫而我自身方成佛道." This was the present Kshitigarbha, now (at Çākyamuni's time) a Bodhisattva still.

Again, innumerable kalpas ago, Kshitigarbha was born as the holy daughter of a very wealthy Brahman. She was highly respected by the people and protected by all the devas. Her mother, however, a heterodox woman who always disregarded the Triratna, died before her daughter had completely succeeded in converting her by constant exhortations. Therefore the mother's soul fell into the Avīci hell, the last of the eight hot hells. The pious daughter, sorrowing very much about her mother's pitiful fate, because she was sure that a terrible punishment had been inflicted upon her, spent her possessions in making great offerings to the Buddhas of the past. Thus she also went to the temple of the Buddha of her own kalpa[2] — she lived in a period of Saddharma pratirūpaka, "Reflection of the Saddharma", 像法 —

[1] This Buddha's name was 師子奮迅具足萬行 (如來). Great Jap. Tripiṭaka of Leiden, Ch. I, p. 3 b.

[2] This Buddha's name was 覺華定自在王.

and asked him where her mother had gone. Suddenly a voice in the air promised her to announce her the spot, and the Tathāgata in a trance advised her to go home and to reflect upon his (the Tathāgata's) name, sitting in a correct attitude. After having done so for one day and one night, she suddenly saw herself on the shore of a frightful sea. The boiling and bubbling waves were filled with men and women, pursued by Yakshas and devoured by terrible animals. But by the power of permanently concentrating her thoughts on the Buddha she was without any fear. Then there came a demon king, who bowing his head to the ground addressed her by the name of Bodhisattva, and taught her that this was the first of the three frightful seas to be crossed by the evil souls before reaching the great hells. When she asked where her mother, 悅帝利, Yattili (Uttili?), the wife of the Brahman Nila Sudarçana, 尸羅善現, had gone, he answered that three days before her mother had been reborn in a heaven, thanks to the filial piety of her daughter, who had made offerings and spent gifts to the temple of the Tathāgata mentioned above. "Do not be uneasy about her", he said, "the Bodhisattva's (i. e. your) mother was saved from hell. Accordingly all the culprits of the Avīci hell are rejoicing this day, and their life (in hell) is finished at the same time". After these words the demon king joined his hands in veneration and retired. The Brahman's daughter went home as in a dream, but after having clearly understood the matter she forthwith went to the Tathāgata's stūpa and before his image uttered the following vow: "I vow to assist in all future kalpas the living beings which shall undergo the sufferings of punishment, amply establishing the means of reaching salvation and causing them to obtain it (願我盡未來劫應有罪苦衆生廣設方便使令解脫, Ch. I, p. 6b). This girl was the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha.

In the fourth chapter the Tathāgata gives two other tales concerning this Bodhisattva's original vow. According to the first tale in a former kalpa, innumerable kalpas ago, he was a virtuous king whose subjects committed many crimes and who with his friend, the king of a small neighbouring country, discussed and established the means of salvation. The latter made a vow, soon to become a Buddha to save those wicked people, and afterwards actually reached Buddhaship. The former king, however, vowed not to become a Buddha before having saved them from the miseries of punishment and having caused them to live in peace and joy and to obtain Bodhi. This king was Kshitigarbha.

The second story (Ch. IV, pp. 12 sq.) relates about an Arhat, who, living long ago in a period of Saddharma pratirūpaka, instructed and converted the people, in order to procure them felicity and salvation. This Arhat entered samādhi on behalf of a girl, "Bright Eye", 光目, Prabhācaksu, by name, who was anxious to know where her mother had been reborn after her death. He saw that this woman had fallen upon a wicked path and was undergoing the most cruel punishments. When the girl told him, that during her lifetime her mother had eaten an immense number of fish and turtles, and that she herself was now in great sorrow and doubt how she

might save her mother's unhappy soul, the Arhat advised her to worship the Buddha of that kalpa, 淸淨蓮華目如來, Viruddhā-padmacaksu Tathāgata, and to make images of him and to represent him in painting. She did so, throwing away all she was attached to and worshipping the Buddha with all her heart. Then the Tathāgata appeared to her in a dream and said: "Your mother shall soon be reborn in your house, and when hardly perceiving hunger or cold she shall speak". Afterwards the mother was actually born as the child of a maid-servant in the house, and three days after her birth she wept bitterly and spoke to her daughter. She told her that on account of the sins of killing and slander she had fallen into a Great Hell, from where she had escaped and was reborn as the child of a woman of low standing by the power of her daughter's virtues. After thirteen years, however, she should die and fall again upon a wicked path. She implored her daughter to save her, whereupon the latter uttered a great vow. If her mother for ever might be saved from the three wicked paths and for many kalpas might be exempt from birth in such a low position or as a woman, she, her daughter, would save all the living beings suffering in the hells of all the worlds and on the three wicked paths, and she would not become a Buddha herself before having caused them all to reach Buddhaship. After having uttered this vow she heard the Tathāgata praising her and announcing that after thirteen years her mother should be reborn as a Brahmacāri and after a life of a hundred years should go to the Sorrowless Land where she should stay for innumerable kalpas, till she should become a Buddha and save men and devas, numerous as the sand of the Ganges. In Çākyamuni's time the Arhat of those days was the Bodhisattva Akshayamati, 無盡意, the mother was the Bodhisattva Vimoksha (Vimukti), 解脫, and the girl Bright-Eye was Kshitigarbha.

In the second chapter Kshitigarbha himself appears on the scene. All the bodies, numerous as the sand of the Ganges, into which he had divided himself in all the hells of innumerable kalpas, assembled in the Trāyastriṃçat heaven, and, after having been addressed by the Buddha, united into one body. Then Kshitigarbha stated that each of his bodies had saved innumerable men and caused them to reach Nirvāna, gradually saving them even by means of the slightest virtuous deeds. His only wish was that the Tathāgata might not be anxious about the living beings which should commit evil deeds in future ages (because he, Kshitigarbha, would save them). Thereupon the Buddha praised him for fulfilling his vow so well, and said that he finally should obtain Bodhi.

In the third chapter Kshitigarbha explains to Māyā, Buddha's mother, the crimes which lead to the five different Avīci hells and the meanings of the name Avīci with regard to the punishments inflicted there upon the culprits. In the fifth chapter we hear him explain at the request of Samantabhadra the names of the hells and the different punishments. The seventh chapter is devoted to his explanation of the blessings received by the dead in consequence of the masses performed by the living.

In chapter IX he speaks on many previous Buddhas of kalpas long past, and mentions their names.

In the remaining chapters not Kshitigarbha, but the Tathāgata himself addresses the multitude. In the eight chapter he answers Yama (called the Son of Heaven) and the innumerable Demon kings of Hell, who by Buddha's divinity and Kshitigarbha's power all had come to the Trāyastriṃçat heaven. Yama praises Kshitigarbha's wonderful divine power, but asks why the living beings after having been freed from punishment soon fall again upon the wicked paths. On having heard Buddha's answer, four of the Demon kings successively promise to protect virtuous men and women. Charity is the subject of Buddha's sermon in chapter X, delivered at Kshitigarbha's request.

With regard to Kshitigarbha himself, however, besides the stories mentioned above, ch. IV, VI, XI, XII and XIII are specially important. After having told the tale of the girl Bright Eye, the Buddha says that if wicked men or women for one moment take their refuge with Kshitigarbha, they shall be saved from the three evil paths. If they worship him with their whole hearts, they shall be reborn in the heavens for millions of kalpas and then become emperors or kings on earth, again for thousands of kalpas, and they shall be able to remember the karma of their lives from the beginning to the end.

A similar praise of Kshitigarbha by the Buddha is found in the sixth chapter, where virtuous men and women who worship this Bodhisattva are said to overleap the sins of thirty kalpas. If they make images of him and worship him, be it only one time, they shall be born a hundred times in the Trāyastriṃçat heaven and never fall upon the evil paths, and if they are then reborn among men they shall become kings and not lose the great blessings they enjoyed before. Women, who hate the female shape, shall by devoutly worshipping Kshitigarbha obtain the favour of not being reborn as women for thousands of kalpas. Low people and slaves shall by his favour be reborn as venerable persons of high standing, free from the evil paths.

In the eleventh chapter an Earth spirit praises Kshitigarbha, whose vow, says he, is deeper (i. e. more intense) and harder to accomplish than that of any other Bodhisattva. He enumerates ten blessings which shall be bestowed upon those inhabitants of his territory in the South, who shall build temples of Kshitigarbha, place his images in them, and worship him. They shall obtain good harvests, constant domestic peace, abundance and long life, renascence in a heaven, and constant divine protection. Their wishes shall be fulfilled, evil influences uselessly consuming their resources shall be removed, evil dreams cut off, and they shall often meet with holy nidānas, 聖因. Moreover, he, the Earth spirit himself, shall perpetually protect the virtuous inhabitants of his region, if they have this sūtra and Kshitigarbha's images and if they read it well and make offerings to this Bodhisattva, so that they shall be free from all great und small adversities connected with water, fire and robbery,

in short from all evil matters. The Buddha answers that other spirits have greater divine power than he, the Earth spirit; that also Çakra, Brahma and all the devas shall protect those persons; that the latter by worshipping Kshitigarbha and reading this sūtra spontaneously shall escape the sea of difficulties and sufferings and shall experience the happiness of Nirvāna.

Chapter XII introduces Avalokiteçvara requesting Çākyamuni to speak about the wonderful blessings bestowed upon the living beings by Kshitigarbha, in order to cause the Devas, Nāgas and the remaining of the eight classes to worship this Bodhisattva and thus obtain felicity. Then the Buddha praises Avalokiteçvara's great karma in Jambudvīpa, and his great compassion with the living beings. If Devas, Nāgas, men or women, demons or spirits, and the living beings of the six gati who are suffering punishments, on hearing Avalokiteçvara's name or on seeing his shape shall have a strong longing for him and praise him, they shall always be reborn as men or devas and obtain great felicity, to finally reach Buddhaship. Then he dwells upon the great blessings caused by seeing Kshitigarbha's images or hearing his name, especially when being followed by worship and offerings.

Finally, the Tathāgata in the last chapter eulogizes Kshitigarbha's divine power, compassion, wisdom, eloquence, and his indefatigable activity for thousands and tenthousands of kalpas, praised by all the Buddhas of the ten quarters. Then he solemnly intrusts him with the fates of all the living beings of the present and future, to be saved by him by means of his divine power, by establishing the means of salvation, by manifesting himself among men in a *limitless number of bodies*, by *breaking the hells* and causing the beings to be born in heaven and to obtain the highest felicity. At the request of the Bodhisattva Ākāçagarbha (虛空藏 "Womb of the Space", litt. "Receptacle of the Void") the Buddha enumerates the *twenty eight blessings*[1] which shall descend upon virtuous men and women of future ages, who shall see Kshitigarbha's images, hear and read this sūtra, make offerings to him and praise and worship him. They shall be protected by all Devas and Nāgas, assisted by spirits and demons, respected by men. Their good "fruits" (results in the chain of causes and results) shall daily increase, they shall gather holy, superior nidānas (集聖上因) and bodhi shall not retire from them (but on the contrary come nearer to them). They shall have abundance of clothes and food, and be free from diseases, calamities caused by water or fire, and robbery. Women shall be reborn as men or as daughters of kings or ministers. They (men and women) shall have many new births in the heavens, and some of them shall become emperors or kings. They shall live in correct mutual love and domestic happiness. All their wishes shall be fulfilled, all adversities removed, and the consequences of former (evil) deeds shall be taken away from them for ever. They shall know their previous existences and their dwelling-places of the past, and have no sufferings caused by former lives, but felicity due

[1] Ch. XIII, p. 23 a.

to the past. They shall have peaceful and joyful dreams. They shall be praised by all holy persons, have hearts filled with compassion, and become Buddhas in the end.

As to the Devas, Nāgas, demons and spirits, who at present and in future times on hearing Kshitigarbha's name shall worship his images, or on hearing his original vow shall praise and worship him, they shall get *seven blessings*[1]. They shall quickly pass over the holy bhūmis (the ten degrees of perfection); their evil deeds shall be obliterated; all Buddhas shall protect them. Bodhi shall not retire from them; their original power shall increase; they shall have a complete knowledge of their former existences; and in the end they shall reach Buddhaship.

Then all those present, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāgas and the remaining of the eight classes (of beings), on hearing Çākyamuni's words, eulogized Kshitigarbha's great divine power. A rain of flowers descended upon the Tathāgata and the Bodhisattva, and the whole crowd bowed, respectfully joined their hands and withdrew.

Thus this sūtra affords full details concerning Kshitigarbha's nature and the blessings bestowed by him. We notice a striking resemblance with *Avalokiteçvara*, the other compassionate saviour of the living beings, who is not forgotten even in this sūtra devoted to his counterpart. We hear him requesting the Buddha to speak about the wonderful blessings of Kshitigarbha, in order to cause the Devas, Nāgas, demons and spirits to worship him and thus obtain felicity. The Buddha, before doing so, praises Avalokiteçvara himself, his great karma in Jambudvīpa and his great compassion with the living beings. He states that if Devas, Nāgas, men or women, demons or spirits, and the living beings of the six gati who are suffering punishments, on hearing Avalokiteçvara's name or on seeing his shape shall have a strong longing for him and praise him, they shall always be born again as men or devas and obtain great felicity, till they finally reach Buddhaship.

Another interesting point is the *female* origin of this Bodhisattva in two of the four tales, and the *filial piety* which is the chief virtue displayed in both of them. A modern Japanese author[2], combining Kshitigarbha's female origin with his name of "Womb of the Earth", supposes him to be a Mahāyānistic transformation of the Vedic Earthgoddess *Pṛthivi*. He points out that the "Secret Doctrine" (i. e. the Yoga school) calls the Kshitigarbha of the *Taizō mandara* (i. e. the Maṇḍala of the World of Phenomena, opposite to the *Kongō mandara*, that of the World of Ideas) the "Deva of the Earth", 地天 or the "Spirit of the Earth", 地神, or the "Spirit who holds the Earth", 持地神[3], or the "Strong Earth-spirit", 堅牢地神. Further,

[1] Ibidem, p. 23 b.

[2] In the *Tetsugaku daijisho*, 哲學大辭書, or "Great Philosophical Dictionary" (ed. 1910), pp. 1166 sqq., s. v. Jizō Bosatsu.

[3] We find the name 持地 in the *Ta jih king*, 大日經, or *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, treated below, this Chapter, § 5.

among the twelve devas of the Outer Vajra section of the Taizō mandara Kshitigarbha is placed on the lower side, the natural place of the Earth, opposite Brahma, who represents Heaven. It is very probable, indeed, that some ancient Indian Earth goddess, merciful productress of many blessings, was the prototype of the Bodhisattva "Womb of the Earth".

### § 3. *The Sūtra on the Ten Wheels.*

The second sūtra to be mentioned with regard to Kshitigarbha is the "Mahāyāna Mahāsannipāta sūtra on Kshitigarbha and the Ten Wheels", 大集地藏十輪經, (NANJŌ, nr 64). The title of nr. 65 of NANJŌ's Catalogue, 大方廣十輪經, an earlier and shorter translation of the same sūtra, is translated by NANJŌ as: "Mahāvaipulya-sūtra spoken by Buddha on the ten wheels", which NANJŌ explains to be "the wheels of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha". This seems to be a mistake, for we learn form the sūtra that these wheels were turned by Çākyamuni himself, and not by Kshitigarbha. The Tathāgata compares his successive turning of the ten wheels of the Law, thus filling with happiness the miserable, wicked, Buddhaless worlds, to the turning of the worldly wheel by ten different Cakravartīs, who thus gave peace and felicity to their hitherto miserable subjects. This idea is amply developed in the second chapter (of nr. 64), which therefore has no importance with regard to our subject. As none of the following chapters throws light upon Kshitigarbha, the first chapter, called the Preface, is the only part of the sūtra, to be dealt with in this paper. This Preface is the same as that of nr. 65; the only difference is the somewhat shorter form of the latter. It is curious that the headings of the other chapters are all different from those of nr. 64, and that there are 15 of them in nr. 65 and 8 in nr. 64. The latter translation, written in A. D. 651 by the famous pilgrim HÜEN TSANG, agrees with the Tibetan translation, and is much longer (although the number of the chapters is less) than nr. 65, which was translated by an unknown author in the Northern Liang dynasty (A. D. 397—439). The translators apparently allowed themselves much liberty in dividing the sūtras into chapters as well as in abbreviating them, unless there were two different Sanskrit texts of the same kind. But this is quite immaterial to us, for the Prefaces, the only parts of importance for our subject, are about the same.

We read there how the Bhagavān on Mount 佉羅提耶 (*Kha-la-ti-ya*[1]) held a great assembly of bhikshus and innumerable Mahāçravakas and Bodhisattvas, to whom he announced the arrival of Kshitigarbha with all the Bodhisattvas related to the latter. When the Buddha had spoken in praise of him, Kshitigarbha appeared, accompanied by myriads of Bodhisattvas. They came from the South, and Kshiti-

[1] Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI had the kindness of giving me the sanscrit equivalent of these characters and explaining to me this name as apparently related to *khalati*, "bald", at the same time pointing out that a mount *Khalatika* is mentioned by Pāṇini and Açoka.



Fig. 2. A Japanese grave monument, probably from the end of the 17th or the first half of the 18th century, representing Jizō in the shape of a Bodhisattva and in that of a priest with *khakkhara* and *cintāmaṇi* (staff with metal rings and precious pearl). Cf. Ch. I, § 3.

garbha as well as all the others had *assumed the shapes of çrāvakas* by means of the former's divine power. After having worshipped and eulogized the Tathāgata, and, flying in the air, having strewn flowers upon him which changed into precious canopies, they all sat down before the Buddha, to listen to the Law. Then a Bodhisattva among the assembly rose from his seat and asked Çākyamuni, from what Buddha land this virtuous man came, and what virtuous deeds he had done. The Buddha answered with a long praise of Kshitigarbha, enumerating all the blessings, bestowed upon those who worshipped this Bodhisattva and invocated him, taking their refuge to him with their whole hearts. Further, he mentioned all the different shapes in which Kshitigarbha appeared in order to convert and save the sentient beings. Finally, after Kshitigarbha having declared that he also in future times shall save the living beings, the Buddha in a long stanza praises him again. The long list of shapes which Kshitigarbha was said by the Tathāgata to assume in his virtuous work contains all kinds of beings, from Brahma, Çiva, Yama, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Pratyekabuddhas, crāvakas, Nāgas, demons and spirits, to Pretas, animals, and inhabitants of hell. It is remarkable that he appeared in the shape of a *çrāvaka* before the Buddha. This may indicate that Kshitigarbha in India, like in China and especially in Japan, used to be represented not only in the shape of a Bodhisattva but also in that of a priest (cf. fig. 2, a Japanese grave monument representing Jizō in both shapes). It is also possible, however, that this passage of the sūtra caused the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists to represent him as a priest.

As to nr. 1457 of NANJŌ'S Catalogue, entitled: "Praise of the Dharmakāya, uttered by the Buddha at the request of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, (and making part of) the Great Collective sūtra (Mahāsannipāta sūtra) consisting of a hundred thousand gāthās" (cf. nr. 61), this only gives the stanzas in praise of the Dharmakāya, without even mentioning Kshitigarbha's name.

§ 4. *The Sūtra on the mandalas of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas.*

So far the Kshitigarbha of the public doctrine; now follows a sūtra of the Yoga school, entitled "*Sūtra spoken by Buddha on the mandalas of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*, 佛說八大菩薩曼荼羅經. It is nr. 981 of NANJŌ'S Catalogue, and it was translated between A. D. 746 and 771 by the famous AMOGHAVAJRA (不空金剛, abbreviated into 不空), pupil of VAJRABODHI. According to NANJŌ its Sanscrit title is *Ashtamandalaka sūtra*. The Buddha, staying one day on Mount Pōtala in Avalokiteçvara's palace, explained to myriads of Bodhisattvas the *eight mandalas* and the blessings caused by erecting them. If one relies on the very profound Law of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas and erects these eight mandalas, all his crimes shall be obliterated and all his wishes shall be fulfilled. Then he enumerates these eight Bodhisattvas with their so called "secret words" (密言 i. e. their magic formulae, mantras) their places in the mandala (which is apparently considered as consisting of eight mandalas instead of forming one complex), the colours of their bodies, their attributes and their mudrās. *Çākyamuni* is seated on a lotus in the centre, with *Avalokiteçvara* at his right and *Vajrapāni* at his left hand. Behind him *Ākāçagarbha* is seated, having *Maitreya* at his right and *Samantabhadra* at his left hand. Before Çākyamuni *Kshitigarbha* is seated, with *Sarvanivaranavishkambhī* at his right and *Mañjuçrī* at his left hand. Thus Ākāçagarbha and Kshitigarbha are placed opposite eachother, as well as Padmapāni and Vajrapāni, Samantabhadra and Mañjuçrī, Maitreya and Sarvanivaranavishkambhī. One mistake is made in the description, as the last-named Bodhisattva is said to have his place before Mañjuçrī instead of before Padmapāni, which is his logical place with respect to the form of the mandala. They are enumerated in the following order: Avalokiteçvara, Maitreya, Ākāçagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, Mañjuçrī, Sarvanivaranavishkambhī and Kshitigarbha[1]. The latter is described as wearing a crown on his head and a necklace of gems. "His face is bright and happy, quiet and filled with compassion with all affectionate beings (i. e. human beings subject to metempsychosis, *pudgala*). His left hand rests under his navel, carrying an almsbowl on its palm; his right hand closes its palm and is directed downwards, the thumb pinching up the index. (This means that) he gives consolation and peace to all human beings" (於如來前想地藏菩薩，頭冠瓔珞面貌熙怡寂靜愍念一切有情，左手安臍下拓鉢右手復合掌向下，大指捻頭指，作慰安一切有情). His magic formula is 乞灑詞囉惹娑嚩賀, of which characters the two first, as well as the sixth and seventh, are to be combined in reconstructing the Sanscrit equivalent. Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI kindly explained to me the three last characters, which form the word *svāhā*, the final benediction. EITEL[2] gives this word also, and declares it to be "an exclamation, 'may the race be perpetuated', used at ancestral (Brahmanic

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[2] *Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary*, s. v. *svāhā*.



Fig. 2. A Japanese grave monument, probably from the end of the 17th or the first half of the 18th century, representing Jizō in the shape of a Bodhisattva and in that of a priest with *khakkhara* and *cintāmaṇi* (staff with metal rings and precious pearl). Cf. Ch. I, § 3.

garbha as well as all the others had *assumed the shapes of çrāvakas* by means of the former's divine power. After having worshipped and eulogized the Tathāgata, and, flying in the air, having strewn flowers upon him which changed into precious canopies, they all sat down before the Buddha, to listen to the Law. Then a Bodhisattva among the assembly rose from his seat and asked Çākyamuni, from what Buddha land this virtuous man came, and what virtuous deeds he had done. The Buddha answered with a long praise of Kshitigarbha, enumerating all the blessings, bestowed upon those who worshipped this Bodhisattva and invocated him, taking their refuge to him with their whole hearts. Further, he mentioned all the different shapes in which Kshitigarbha appeared in order to convert and save the sentient beings. Finally, after Kshitigarbha having declared that he also in future times shall save the living beings, the Buddha in a long stanza praises him again. The long list of shapes which Kshitigarbha was said by the Tathāgata to assume in his virtuous work contains all kinds of beings, from Brahma, Çiva, Yama, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Pratyekabuddhas, crāvakas, Nāgas, demons and spirits, to Pretas, animals, and inhabitants of hell. It is remarkable that he appeared in the shape of a *çrāvaka* before the Buddha. This may indicate that Kshitigarbha in India, like in China and especially in Japan, used to be represented not only in the shape of a Bodhisattva but also in that of a priest (cf. fig. 2, a Japanese grave monument representing Jizō in both shapes). It is also possible, however, that this passage of the sūtra caused the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists to represent him as a priest.

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and Buddhist) sacrifices". Here it is, as Professor LÉVI pointed out to me, the final benediction of a magic formula. In this sūtra these magic formulae are called *ta-ming*, 大明, *mahā-vidyā*, in NANJŌ nr. 880 *mih-yen*, 密言, *mantra*. As to the five other characters, which are probably a transcription of *Kshaharaja*, this is according to Mr. LÉVI mere abracadabra of the magician, which to try to explain would be loss of time. This is also the case with the first word of Kshitigarbha's magic formula in NANJŌ nr. 880: 摩賀囉娑囉縛賀, Maharā svāhā.

Kshitigarbha's colour is not mentioned here, but according to other works of the mystic doctrine it is *white*[1] or white flesh colour[2], white indicating the pure *Bodhi* heart or symbolizing Kshitigarbha's being the source of all virtues, because white is the root of all colours.

As to the colours of the other Bodhisattvas mentioned in the sūtra, that of Ākāçagarbha is not given, but that of Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Mañjuçrī and Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, as well as that of the Buddha himself, is *gold-colour*, that of Avalokiteçvara and Vajrapāni being *red*. Of the two last-mentioned Bodhisattvas the former with his right hand probably makes the *varadamudrā*[3], and he has the Buddha Amitāyus in his crown; while the latter (Vajrapāni), who holds a vajra in his right hand (the left resting upon his thigh) wears the crown of the Five Buddhas. Maitreya, seated behind Avalokiteçvara, in the left hand carries a *kuṇḍika*, 軍持, the water-bowl of the Buddhist mendicant, while his right distributes fearlessness (i. e. makes the *abhaya-mudrā*, 施無畏印); in his cap a *stūpa* is seen. Ākāçagarbha, in his left hand, which is resting upon his heart, keeping a precious object, with his right sends out a stream of immeasurable treasures, 流出無量寶. Samantabhadra, seated at Ākāçagarbha's left hand, holds a sword in his right hand, his left making the *varada-mudrā*; he wears the crown of the Five Buddhas. Mañjuçrī, seated before Vajrapāni, in the shape of a five-tufted boy, in his left hand carries a red lotus flower in the midst of which is a fivefold (five-pointed) vajra, while his right makes the *varada-mudrā*. Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī's left hand carries a "streamer which grants all desires" (如意幢), and his right makes the same mudrā as the two former Bodhisattvas. As to the Tathāgata, his gold-coloured body shows the 32 lakshanas, and he is seated upon a lotus seat.

"If virtuous men or women receive and keep this Maṇḍala sūtra, all the obstacles caused by their deeds shall be removed, and they soon shall testify (證) (experience) the highest, correct Bodhi."

A praise of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, consisting of forty stanzas, form a kind of addendum to the sūtra. Kshitigarbha is eulogized in the following words:

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1 現圖曼荼羅, quoted in the *Tetsugaku daijisho*, l. l.

2 秘藏記, quoted ibidem.

3 施願頭印: probably the *varadamudrā* (right hand resting on the right knee with the palm upwards). In the *bhūmisparçamudrā* the palm is held downwards.

"Like the *Earth* (*Kshiti*) is that which all affectionate beings are sure to rely upon, I worship *Kshiti-garbha*, the *Repository* (*garbha*, womb) of solid wisdom and compassion".

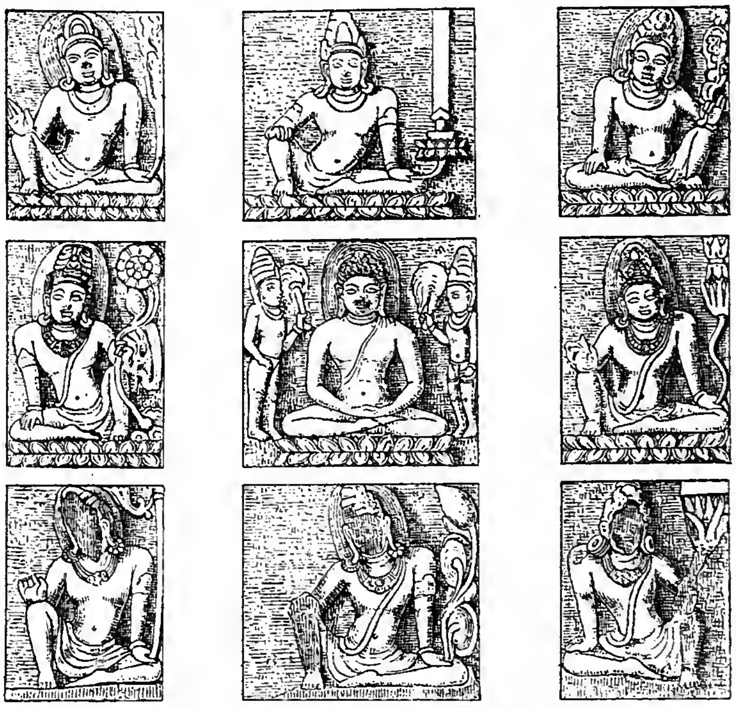


Fig. 3. Çākyamuni surrounded by eight Bodhisattvas, probably the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, described in Ch. I, § 4. Upper row: Maitreya, Ākāçagarbha and Samantabhadra. Central row: Avalokiteçvara (Padmapāni), Çākyamuni and Vajrapāni. Beneath: Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, *Kshitigarbha* and Mañjuçrī. From *Burgess, Report on the Elurā Cave temples,* ASWI Vol. V, Plate XIX, 6.

The same sūtra was translated again in the Sung dynasty (NANJŌ, nr. 880), with the title of 'Sūtra on the Eight Great Maṇḍalas of Mahāyāna". But neither the places nor the attributes or mudrās of the Bodhisattvas are given, only their magic formulae. That of Kshitigarbha has been given above[1]. Also the final eulogy is omitted.

As to nr. 997 of NANJŌ's Catalogue, entitled "Sūtra, spoken by Buddha on the Eight Great Bodhisattvas", 佛說八大菩薩經, this sūtra does not mention their magic formulae, attributes or mudrās. They are enumerated there as follows: Mañjuçrī, Avalokitesçvara, Maitreya, Ākāçagarbha, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāni, Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhi, and Kshitigarbha. This sūtra was translated by FAH-HIEN, 法賢, not the famous pilgrim, but a çramana of the Nālanda monastery of Magadha, who from 973 to 981 translated 46 works under the name of FAH-TʻIEN, 法天, and from 982—1001 72 other works under the name of FAH-HIEN[2].

We would not hesitate to declare the eight Bodhisattvas, grouped around Çākyamuni in the Elurā Cave temples, a picture given by BURGESS, in his Report on those temples[3] and reproduced by GRÜNWEDEL in his "*Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*"[4], to be the same Eight Great Bodhisattvas, grouped in the way described in the sūtra nr. 981, if some of the mudrās and attributes were not different (fig. 3).

[1] Above, p. 15.
[2] Cf. NANJŌ, App. II, nr. 159, pp. 450 sqq.
[3] ASWI., Vol. V, Plate XIX, 6.
[4] Zweite Auflage, S. 171, Fig. 99.

GRÜNWEDEL recognized Padmapāni (Avalokiteçvara) and Vajrapāni by their attributes; their places are the same as in the sūtra. The Amitāyus figure in Padmapāni's crown and the lotus flower in his left hand are sure signs of his identity; yet his right hand is lying on his right knee with its palm *downwards* (bhūmisparçamudrā), while the sūtra probably describes this Bodhisattva as making the varadamudrā, in which the right hand is lying on the right knee with its palm *upwards*. As to Vajrapāni, in the sūtra he is said to hold a vajra in his right hand, while the left is resting upon his thigh; he wears the "Five Buddhas crown". In the picture, however, his right hand, resting upon his right knee, is held with its palm in front, and the lotus in his left hand is crowned with a vajra. Thus we see that even these two figures have different attributes and mudrās from those of the sūtra, although they are sure to be Padmapāni and Vajrapāni. For this reason we can neither deny nor assert that these eight Bodhisattvas surrounding Çākyamuni are the well-known eight Bodhisattvas of the Yoga school and Lamaism; but we are inclined to believe so. If it be right, the upper row must be formed by Maitreya, Ākāçagarbha and Samantabhadra, the lower one by Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, Kshitigarbha and Mañjuçrī.

As to Ākāçagarbha, "Womb of the Space", he seems to be the counterpart of Kshitigarbha, "Womb of the Earth". Yet in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, to be treated next, their places in the maṇḍala are not opposite each other, for the former is said there to be placed on the West side, the latter on the North side. Ākāçagarbha was known in China as early as the later Tsin dynasty (A. D. 384—417), when a sūtra on him (Nanjō, nr. 68) was translated into Chinese. This work agrees with a Tibetan text, as well as nrs. 67 and 69, both devoted to the same Bodhisattva, and translated in the fifth and sixth (or in the beginning of the seventh) centuries. The early date of nr. 67 (fifth century), which treats of Ākāçagarbha's *dhāraṇī*, is evidence of the fact that magic formulae were used in Buddhism long before Asañga's time[1].

### § 5. *The Mahāvairocana sūtra.*

The same eight Bodhisattvas are repeatedly mentioned in another sūtra of the Tantric school, namely in the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, commonly called *Ta jeh king*, 大日經, or "Great Sun sūtra". Its full title is "Sūtra on Mahāvairocana's becoming a Buddha and the supernatural formula called Yugandhara", 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (NANJŌ, nr. 530). It was translated in A. D. 724 by ÇUBHAKARASIMHA, commonly mentioned as ÇUBHAKARA, which name was rendered WU-WEI, 無畏, or SHEN WU-WEI, 善無畏, "The Fearless One" or "The Virtuous and Fearless One"[2]. This was a çramana from the Nālanda monastery in Magadha, who lived A. D. 636—735, and who in A. D. 716 arrived in China, where he translated several works

[1] Cf. Waddell, Lamaism, p. 142; O. Z., I 2.
[2] Cf. NANJŌ, Appendix II, no. 154, p. 444.

of the Yoga school. He translated this sūtra in collaboration with the Chinese priest YIH-HING, 一行.

In the first chapter the Buddha in a large number of stanzas prescribes a maṇḍala, in the third section of which the Eight Bodhisattvas are to be represented in picture (p. 25b). Kshitigarbha Mahāsattva is to be placed on the *North* side, seated on a magnificent lotus seat. Great names are to be given to him, e. g. *Ratnapāni* ("Treasure-hand", 寶掌寶手) and "*Holder of the Earth*", 持地 (cf. above, § 2, p. 186), and he must be surrounded by the highest saints. Ākāçagarbha is to be represented on the Nāga (i. e. the West) side, clad in a white robe, carrying a sword, and spreading light.

In the second chapter[1] the "true words"[2] of many Bodhisattvas are given. After Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Ākāçagarbha, Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, Avalokiteçvara, Mahāsthanaprāpta, Tārā, and others, *Kshitigarbha*, Mañjuçrī and Vajrapāni are mentioned.

In the third chapter[3] Kshitigarbha is placed on the Yaksha (i. e. the North) side of the maṇḍala, and Ākāçagarbha on the Nāga side. The former is described as having a colour like that of a special flower, 钵孕遇華, and holding a lotus flower in his hand (cf. fig. 4); he wears a necklace of precious stones. Ākāçagarbha is again clad in a white robe, and his body emits light. He also wears a precious necklace; in his hands he carries a certain object, 揭伽.

In the fourth chapter[4] the "true words" and the mudrās of the same Bodhisattvas are given, while in the fifth[5] Kshitigarbha and Ākāçagarbha are placed again on the North and West sides. The former must be seated on a magnificent lotus seat, near which a large banner, 幢, is to be erected. His name is *Jina*, "the Most Victorious One", 最勝, and he must be surrounded by a numberless crowd of superior relatives, 上首諸眷屬.

## CHAPTER II.

## KSHITIGARBHA'S CULT IN INDIA, TIBET AND TURKISTAN.

### § 1. *Kshitigarbha in India.*

In the well-known Chinese work on India, entitled *Ta-T'ang si-yuh-ki*, 大唐西域記 (NANJŌ nr. 1503), or "Records on Western regions made under the Great T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618—907)", and composed in A.D. 646 by the famous Buddhist

[1] Ch. II, pp. 16 b—31 b.

[2] 眞言, magic formulae, by means of which special Buddhas or Bodhisattvas are to be invocated. Kshitigarbha's "true words", given on p. 18 b of this chapter, begin with *Namu Samantabuddhana*, followed by 係係倶摩囉迦, 微目吃底鉢他悉體多, 薩麼囉麼薩嚨, 鉢囉底然, and end with the benediction *svāhā*.

[3] P. 21 b.

[4] Pp. 9 sqq.

[5] Pp. 17 sq.

pilgrim HÜEN-TSANG, 玄奘 (A.D. 602—664), we do not read one word about Kshitigarbha. Also the *Nan-hai ki-kwëi néi-fah chw'en*, 南海寄歸內法傳, or "Traditions on the Inner Law, by one who returned from the Southern Ocean to China", written by an other famous pilgrim, I-TSING, 義淨 (A.D. 634—713), who in A.D. 671 started from China and returned in A.D. 695 (cf. NANJŌ, App. II. nr. 149, p. 440), does not mention Kshitigarbha. Evidently this Bodhisattva even in the seventh century of our era did not enjoy much worship in India.

On reflecting upon the facts, stated above, we arrive at the conclusion that Kshitigarbha was a Bodhisattva of secondary rank, whose cult was propagated by the authors of the sūtra on his Original Vow and of that on the Ten Wheels. As to the time in which these sūtras were written we only know the dates *before which* this took place, namely those of their translation into Chinese. The sūtra on the original vow was translated at the end of the seventh century of our era, and that on the ten wheels, which agrees with a Tibetan text, was translated in A.D. 651 by the same HÜEN-TSANG, who in his work on India entirely ignored Kshitigarbha's worship in that country. The other translation of the sūtra on the ten wheels is much older, namely from the Northern Liang dynasty (A.D. 397—439), but the name of the translator is lost. We should doubt as to the correctness of this early date, if we did not learn from the Chinese work *Fah-wen shu-lin*, 法苑珠林 (NANJŌ, Catal. nr. 1482), or "Pearl wood of the garden of the Law", a large Buddhist encyclopaedia compiled in A. D. 668 (which we shall quote below), that this Bodhisattva was worshipped in China, together with Avalokiteçvara, Maitreya and Amitābha, as early as the fifth century of our era. This worship of Kshitigarbha was probably due to the spreading of the sūtra on the ten wheels, translated in the beginning of that same century. We may conclude from this, that Kshitigarbha must have been known in India before A.D. 400.

As to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, we may compare this group with that of the Eight Great Nāga-kings of the Mahāyāna school, which liked to use the holy number eight in selecting a group of superior beings from a whole class. I hitherto found the term of "Eight Great Bodhisattvas" and the regular enumeration of these eight only in sūtras of the Tantric school, but the fact that the Elurā caves contain a group of eight Bodhisattvas surrounding Çākyamuni seems to point to a general Mahāyānistic idea. But the Tantric school, at any rate, was the special propagator of this idea, and the Lamaistic church took it up accordingly. As the Yoga doctrine was introduced into Indian Buddhism by ASAÑGA in the sixth century of our era, this was probably the time when this group of eight Bodhisattvas became prominent, and amongst them Kshitigarbha. As neither HÜEN-TSANG, nor I-TSING mention an independent cult of this Bodhisattva in India in the seventh century, we may assume that he was then only worshipped together with the seven others of the group. The existence in that time of the esoteric cult of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas is clear

from the fact that it was introduced into China in the eighth century of our era. We learn this from the dates of translation of the principal sūtras in which they are mentioned.



Fig. 4. Japanese grave monument of a man who died in Genroku 4 (A. D. 1691). Jizō wearing the Bodhisatva crown and standing upon a lotus, in his left hand carrying a lotus flower and with his right making the *abhayamudrā*, which bestows fearlessness upon the worshippers. This is the older way of representing Jizō. Cf. Ch. I, § 5.

§ 2. *The Eight Great Bodhisattvas in Tibet.*

As to Tibet, we do not read in NANJŌ's Catalogue about a Tibetan translation of the sūtra on the Original Vow, the principal Kshitigarbha sūtra. That on the Ten Wheels, however, is found among the Tibetan texts. Kshitigarbha evidently did not play such an important part there as in China and Japan, although he belonged to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas.

The latter were worshipped in Tibet by the Tantric school. WADDELL states that Mañjuçrī, Vajrapāni and Avalokiteçvara are the so-called Three Lords of Lamaism, while Maitreya is placed fourth on the list, followed by the other male Bodhisattvas, not so commonly met with. The chiefs of the latter are Samantabhadra, *Kshitigarbha,* called in Tibetan *Sayi sñiṅ-po* or Matrix of the Earth[1], Ākāçagarbha, Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, and four others[2].

At the initiation into the Tantric Buddhist priesthood of the Vajrācāryas in Tibet the Guru, after having praised the Dharma, continues: "I salute that Sangha, who is Avalokiteçvara and Maitreya, and Gagan Ganja, and Samantabhadra and Vajrapāni and Manjughosha (i. e. Mañjuçrī), and Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī and Kshitigarbha and Khagarbha[3]. The last-mentioned Bodhisattva is Ākāçagarbha[4]; as to Gagan Ganja, added here to the group of eight Bodhisattvas, I do not know him.

[1] Cf. above, p. 5.
[2] *Lamaism*, pp. 354, 358.
[3] *Lamaism*, p. 181, note 3.
[4] Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Myth. in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 141.

pilgrim HÜEN-TSANG, 玄奘 (A.D. 602—664), we do not read one word about Kshitigarbha. Also the *Nan-hai ki-kwéi néi-fah chw'en*, 南海寄歸內法傳, or "Traditions on the Inner Law, by one who returned from the Southern Ocean to China", written by an other famous pilgrim, I-TSING, 義淨 (A.D. 634—713), who in A.D. 671 started from China and returned in A.D. 695 (cf. NANJŌ, App. II. nr. 149, p. 440), does not mention Kshitigarbha. Evidently this Bodhisattva even in the seventh century of our era did not enjoy much worship in India.

On reflecting upon the facts, stated above, we arrive at the conclusion that Kshitigarbha was a Bodhisattva of secondary rank, whose cult was propagated by the authors of the sūtra on his Original Vow and of that on the Ten Wheels. As to the time in which these sūtras were written we only know the dates *before which* this took place, namely those of their translation into Chinese. The sūtra on the original vow was translated at the end of the seventh century of our era, and that on the ten wheels, which agrees with a Tibetan text, was translated in A.D. 651 by the same HÜEN-TSANG, who in his work on India entirely ignored Kshitigarbha's worship in that country. The other translation of the sūtra on the ten wheels is much older, namely from the Northern Liang dynasty (A.D. 397—439), but the name of the translator is lost. We should doubt as to the correctness of this early date, if we did not learn from the Chinese work *Fah-wen shu-lin*, 法苑珠林 (NANJŌ, Catal. nr. 1482), or "Pearl wood of the garden of the Law", a large Buddhist encyclopaedia compiled in A. D. 668 (which we shall quote below), that this Bodhisattva was worshipped in China, together with Avalokiteçvara, Maitreya and Amitābha, as early as the fifth century of our era. This worship of Kshitigarbha was probably due to the spreading of the sūtra on the ten wheels, translated in the beginning of that same century. We may conclude from this, that Kshitigarbha must have been known in India before A.D. 400.

As to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, we may compare this group with that of the Eight Great Nāga-kings of the Mahāyāna school, which liked to use the holy number eight in selecting a group of superior beings from a whole class. I hitherto found the term of "Eight Great Bodhisattvas" and the regular enumeration of these eight only in sūtras of the Tantric school, but the fact that the Elurā caves contain a group of eight Bodhisattvas surrounding Çākyamuni seems to point to a general Mahāyānistic idea. But the Tantric school, at any rate, was the special propagator of this idea, and the Lamaistic church took it up accordingly. As the Yoga doctrine was introduced into Indian Buddhism by ASAṄGA in the sixth century of our era, this was probably the time when this group of eight Bodhisattvas became prominent, and amongst them Kshitigarbha. As neither HÜEN-TSANG, nor I-TSING mention an independent cult of this Bodhisattva in India in the seventh century, we may assume that he was then only worshipped together with the seven others of the group. The existence in that time of the esoteric cult of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas is clear

from the fact that it was introduced into China in the eighth century of our era. We learn this from the dates of translation of the principal sūtras in which they are mentioned.

§ 2. *The Eight Great Bodhisattvas in Tibet.*

As to Tibet, we do not read in NANJŌ's Catalogue about a Tibetan translation of the sūtra on the Original Vow, the principal Kshitigarbha sūtra. That on the Ten Wheels, however, is found among the Tibetan texts. Kshitigarbha evidently did not play such an important part there as in China and Japan, although he belonged to the Eight Great Bodhisattvas.



Fig. 4. Japanese grave monument of a man who died in Genroku 4 (A. D. 1691). Jizō wearing the Bodhisatva crown and standing upon a lotus, in his left hand carrying a lotus flower and with his right making the *abhayamudrā*, which bestows fearlessness upon the worshippers. This is the older way of representing Jizō. Cf. Ch. I, § 5.

The latter were worshipped in Tibet by the Tantric school. WADDELL states that Mañjuçrī, Vajrapāni and Avalokiteçvara are the so-called Three Lords of Lamaism, while Maitreya is placed fourth on the list, followed by the other male Bodhisattvas, not so commonly met with. The chiefs of the latter are Samantabhadra, *Kshitigarbha*, called in Tibetan *Sayi sñiṅ-po* or Matrix of the Earth[1], Ākāçagarbha, Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, and four others[2].

At the initiation into the Tantric Buddhist priesthood of the Vajrācāryas in Tibet the Guru, after having praised the Dharma, continues: "I salute that Sangha, who is Avalokiteçvara and Maitreya, and Gagan Ganja, and Samantabhadra and Vajrapāni and Manjughosha (i. e. Mañjuçrī), and Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī and Kshitigarbha and Khagarbha[3]. The last-mentioned Bodhisattva is Ākāçagarbha[4]; as to Gagan Ganja, added here to the group of eight Bodhisattvas, I do not know him.

[1] Cf. above, p. 5.
[2] *Lamaism*, pp. 354, 358.
[3] *Lamaism*, p. 181, note 3.
[4] Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Myth. in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 141.



Fig. 5. Kshitigarbha in Lamaism, seated on a lotus, with the Bodhisatva crown on his head and a big pearl in his right hand, the left making the *bhūmisparçamudrā*. From *Pander, Das Pantheon des Hutuktu*, p. 76, nr. 148. Cf. Ch. II, § 2.

The order in which they are enumerated is the same as above (Ch. I, § 1, p. 180, and § 4, p. 189) but Gagan Ganja has taken the place of Ākāçagarbha, who has become the last of the list.

PANDER[1] gives the Lamaistic list of Bodhisattvas as follows: Mañjuçrī, Vajrapāni, Avakoliteçvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, Ākāçagarbha, Maitreya and Samantabhadra, but states that the first three and Maitreya are the highest. "The images of these eight Bodhisattvas", says he, "are often placed in the temples (of the Lamaistic church in China), divided into two sections, namely four at both sides of the standing Çākyamuni", and in a note he adds that the Royal Ethnographical Museum at Berlin possesses a miniature bronze group of these eight Bodhisattvas, arranged in this way around Çākyamuni.

The picture representing Kshitigarbha in PANDER'S *Pantheon*[2] shows him seated on a lotus, with the Bodhisattva crown on his head and a big, round pearl (probably not, as PANDER thinks, a sun disk) in his right hand, while the left hand, with its palm outwards, is hanging down and leaning against the left knee (*bhūmisparçamudrā*) (fig. 5). The pearl being Kshitigarbha's constant attribute, while the sun disk is never seen in his hands, the round object in his right hand is probably a pearl.

Apart from the Eight Great Bodhisattvas we have to mention the "*Six Muni*", the presidents of the six worlds of re-birth, who according to WADDELL[3] appear to be identical with the six Jizō's of the Japanese. The idea of six different forms, assumed by a saviour of the beings of the six *gati*, may have been transferred from Çākyamuni upon Kshitigarbha.

### § 3. *Kshitigarbha in Turkistan.*

Prof. RAPHAEL PETRUCCI, in one of his interesting papers on the results of the different scientific expeditions to Turkistan and Northern China[4], points out that Kshitigarbha's cult must have flourished in Turkistan in the 9th and 10th centuries. This Bodhisattva appears in the shape of a priest, with a shaven head and a sacerdotal robe, on two frescoes and on many painted banners of Twen-hwang, where he is carrying the *khakkhara* and the *cintāmani*, exactly similar to his commonest

[1] *Das Pantheon des Hutuktu*, pp. 75 sqq., nrs. 145—152.
[2] Nr. 148, p. 76.
[3] L. l., p. 345.
[4] *L'art bouddhique en Extrême-Orient d'après les découvertes récentes*, Gazette des Beaux Arts Sept. 1911, pp. 202 sqq.

figures in Japan (cf. fig. 1, in front of this paper, and fig. 2). He is also represented as the Saviour of the beings of the six gati, in a beautiful picture, brought to London by the STEIN expedition. An embroidery, from the same expedition, was said to represent *Yamagoshi Amida* with his attendant Bodhisattvas Kwannon and Seishi, i. e. Amitābha rising from behind the mountains, accompanied by Avalokiteçvara and Mahāsthānaprāpta. Behind Amitābha's back two priests are visible, whom PETRUCCI formerly supposed to be Kshitigarbha figures, as well as the priests surrounding the Dhyānibuddha in ESHIN's famous picture of Amida welcoming a very holy soul, accompanied by his twenty five Bodhisattvas. As I shall treat ESHIN'S picture in another part of this paper[1], I may refer the reader to that passage. As to the two priests accompanying Amitābha rising from behind the mountains (or Çākyamuni on the Vulture Peak as Mr. PETRUCCI wrote me afterwards) in the embroidery from Turkistan, Mr. PETRUCCI kindly informed me by letter that a further examination of the inscriptions of the STEIN expedition had changed his opinion. These inscriptions explained them to be "the benignant and the malicious genius of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas". If this be right, this embroidery does not form a link between the two Japanese pictures, attributed to ESHIN *sōzu* (Yamagoshi Amida with Kwannon and Seishi, and Amida with his twenty five Bodhisattvas welcoming a holy soul), as PETRUCCI pointed out in his paper mentioned above.

The idea of a "malicious genius of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas" sounds very queer, but it becomes clear if we take it in the sense of "menacing the evil demons". The Japanese pantheon contains several specimens of these benignant and menacing attendants, e. g. Fudō Myō-ō's young assistants *Kongara dōji* (benignant, joining his hands in adoration or holding a lotus flower) and *Seitaka dōji* (menacing, with a vajra in his left and a club in his right hand). Also Jizō is sometimes accompanied by two young priests, one of whom is called *Shō-zen*, 掌善, or "Ruler of the good", the other *Shō-aku*, 掌惡, or "Ruler of the evil". The former is white and holds a white lotus flower in his hand, while the latter is red and carries a vajra. The *Emmyō Jizō kyō*[2], to be treated below[3], instructs us that the former "tempers and rules the Dharma nature", while the latter "takes away and suppresses ignorance". When Mr. PETRUCCI wrote to me about the benignant and the malignant genius of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the resemblance of this idea with that of the two young assistants of Fudō and Jizō struck me at once. It is remarkable, however, that the features of both priests, represented behind Amitābha (or Çākyamuni) in the embroidery of Twenhwang, are benevolent like Jizō's face, although one of them is said in the inscriptions to be a malignant genius (in the sense of menacing and suppressing

[1] Section III, Ch. III, § 3 (Indō Jizō, the leader to Paradise). Cf. TAJIMA's *Selected Relics of Japanese art*, Vol. IV, Pl. VIII; *Kokkwa*, Vol. 232, Pl. III.

[2] 佛說延命地藏菩薩經, *Bussetsu Emmyō Jizō Bosatsu kyō*, written by a Japanese of the seventeenth century.

[3] Section III, Ch. VI, § 2.

the evil demons). As this explanation of the two priests was given me by Mr. PETRUCCI only as a provisory one, other inscriptions, found in the course of his studies, may change his opinion and throw another light upon them. Therefore we have to await his publications on the paintings and inscriptions of the STEIN expedition, which no doubt shall give many interesting details.

This is also the case with his discovery of Jizō's cult as the *patron of the travellers*, the god of the roads, in Turkistan. If he is right, this conception, hithero considered to be purely Japanese, has been borrowed from the continent as well as the other ideas about this Bodhisattva. In his paper quoted above[1] Jizō is said to be "recouvert du châle des voyageurs", but I must own that I want a more sufficient proof of Jizō's quality of god of the roads in Turkistan. On considering, however, the lack of originality of the Japanese, it would not be surprising to find that also this conception has been introduced from abroad. As a matter of fact, Japanese tradition closely connects this cult with that of the *Six Jizō's*, and their cult is, in PETRUCCI'S opinion, found in Turkestan. The beings of the six gati surrounding Kshitigarbha in the picture mentioned above, are, according to PETRUCCI[2], clear evidence of the fact, that the conception of the six Jizō's did not rise in Japan, but came from the continent. Although I am also inclined to believe in its foreign origin, yet I do not consider this picture a sufficient proof of this. We do not see there the six shapes into which Jizō divided himself to save the beings of the six gati, but we only see him surrounded by them. Thus the idea of his being the saviour of *all beings* — an idea found also in the main sūtras on Jizō, treated in the first section of this paper — is expressed in the picture, but not the conception of the *six shapes* in which he saves them.

These six shapes, however, are mentioned in the semi-Buddhistic, semi-Taoistic *Sūtra on the Ten Kings* (of Hell)[3], where the Buddha (Çākyamuni) gives the names, attributes and actions of the six shapes in which Ti-tsang shall appear in future times. But these names are different from the oldest Japanese denominations of the six Jizō's. Thus the latter must have been introduced into Japan by older Chinese works, for it is not very likely that the same idea should have risen independently in both countries. Therefore, although in my opinion the picture from Turkistan does not prove the existence of the cult of the six Jizō's in that country, I also believe that it came from the continent instead of having originated in Japan.

Moreover, the "Six Muni", i. e. six forms of Çākyamuni as the presidents of the worlds, who according to WADDELL[4] are found in Tibet, seem also to point to a foreign origin of the six Jizō's.

The six Jizō's, as well as Jizō's cult as the patron of the travellers and god of the roads, shall be treated below in the third part of this paper, devoted to Japan[5].

[1] L'art bouddhique en Extrême-Orient, p. 203. [2] L. l., p. 204. [3] This sūtra shall be treated in Sect. II, Ch. I, § 1 of this paper. [4] Cf. above, Ch. II, § 2, p. 22. [5] Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5.

# SECTION II.
# TI-TSANG IN CHINA.

## CHAPTER I.

## SEMI-BUDDHIST, SEMI-TAOIST WORKS ON THE TEN KINGS OF HELL.

Taoism took up the Buddhist ideas on hell, but mixed them up with inventions of its own. The Buddhists and Taoists who liked to blend the two religions gave the supremacy to Shang Ti, the Taoist Emperor of Heaven, but under him they placed Ti-tsang as the *Lord of Hell*. Thus the Saviour from Hell became its supreme Ruler, and under his sway stood *Ten Kings*, namely Yama and nine others, unknown to Indian Buddhism. The following paragraphs are devoted to works on this subject.

### § 1. *The Sūtra on the Ten Kings.*

The full title of this very interesting work is "Sūtra on the Ten Kings, delivered by Buddha, with regard to the conversion and the relations in previous states of existence of the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang", 佛說地藏菩薩發心因緣十王經. It was written by TSANG-CHW'EN, 藏川, a monk of the *Ta-shing ts'ze-ngen* monastery (大聖慈恩寺) in Ts'ing-to-fu, 成都府, Szĕ-chw'en province. NANJŌ does not mention this author or the sūtra, which is sure to be the work of the priest himself instead of being a translation from the sanscrit. This fact was stated already by the priest TSUNG-KIEN, 宗鑑, who in the first half of the thirteenth century revised and edited the *Shih men ching t'ung*[1], and in the Japanese works *Kokkyōshū*[2] and *Kūge dansō*[3]. I found these particulars in SEITAN's highly interesting paper on Jizō Bosatsu, where we also read that this sūtra is divided into five chapters, of which the first, i. e. the preface, is devoted to the evil deeds of mankind, the sufferings of the evil world, and the different kinds of evil. In the three following chapters it is explained how man's

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[1] 釋門正統. Cf. WYLIE, Notes on Chinese Literature, 2nd ed., p. 209.

[2] 谷響集, written by the priest UNSHŌ, 運敞, who lived 1613—1693.

[3] 空華談叢, written by the Buddhist priest TEININ, 諦忍, who lived 1704—1786.

[4] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, Ch. III, p. 52. This paper, written by the Buddhist priest SEITAN, 清譚, is entitled: *Jizō Bosatsu keizō kō*, 地藏菩薩形像攷, "Research of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha's images." It is divided into four chapters, found in the nrs. 154, 156, 159 and 160 of the *Kokkwa*.

three *hwun* and seven *p'oh* (三魂七魄, the *Yang* and *Yin* souls[1]) err about on the "five roads" (五道), and how their evil deeds are punished by the Ten Kings.

The fifth chapter treats of the faces of these Kings, expressing judgment and detachment from worldly concerns.

In the fourth chapter Ti-tsang's boundless compassion, saving mankind from all sufferings, and leading to a general conversion, is mentioned, as well as the *Six Ti-tsangs*. The Buddha himself gives there the names, attributes, mudrās and actions of the six shapes in which Ti-tsang shall appear in future times. We shall treat them below in a separate chapter on the *Six Jizō's*[2]. According to SEITAN both the Ten Kings and the six Ti-tsangs were mentioned here for the first time, and the sūtra was written especially to introduce them into Buddhist litterature and cult. If this be true, TSANG-CHW'EN by writing this sūtra actually succeeded in spreading these ideas in China. In this country the Ten Kings became much more popular than the six Ti-tsangs, in Japan, on the contrary, the Ten Kings are rarely, the six Jizō's very often mentioned, represented and worshipped. This was, however, not due to this sūtra, which was evidently introduced into Japan four centuries after the six Jizō's had become known there. As it is very unlikely that the same idea independently arose in both countries, it must have existed in China as early as the ninth century, the time at which it was introduced into Japan. If this is the case with the six Jizō's, also the Ten Kings may be of older date, and SEITAN's assertion is to be accepted with much caution.

When reading about the *hwun* and the *p'oh* we need not doubt as to the nature of this sūtra. It is, of course, Buddhism blended with *Taoism*. I regret very much that I did not succeed in obtaining this sūtra, for it must be an interesting specimen of this kind, and its influence seems to have been great. Moreover, it is the only evidence of the existence of the idea concerning the six Ti-tsangs in China. As to the Ten Kings, I fortunately had the opportunity of reading a later work, evidently based upon the sūtra on the Ten Kings, so that I am able to give a more extensive account of its contents. This work, which was kindly lent to me by Mr. KRAMP, shall be treated in the next paragraph.

### § 2. "*The Doctrine of Repentance* (*practised in worship of*) *the Ten Merciful Kings of the Dark Department.*"

The author of this work, which is entitled *Ts'zĕ-pêi ming-fu shih-wang ch'an-fah*, 慈悲冥府十王懺法, is not mentioned, nor the time in which it was written. We read at the end of the book that the printing blocks were preserved in the Hai-chw'ang monastery, 海幢寺[3].

[1] Cf. DE GROOT, *Rel. Syst. of China*, Vol. IV, Ch. I, pp. 1 sqq.

[2] Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5.

[3] WELLS WILLIAMS (Dict., p. 116, s. v. 幢) mentions a temple of this name, situated opposite Canton.



Fig. 6. One of the Ten Kings of Hell (ten Chinese paintings on silk from the Sung or Yuen dynasty, in the Daitokuji at Kyōto). From the *Kokkwa*, Nr. 175.

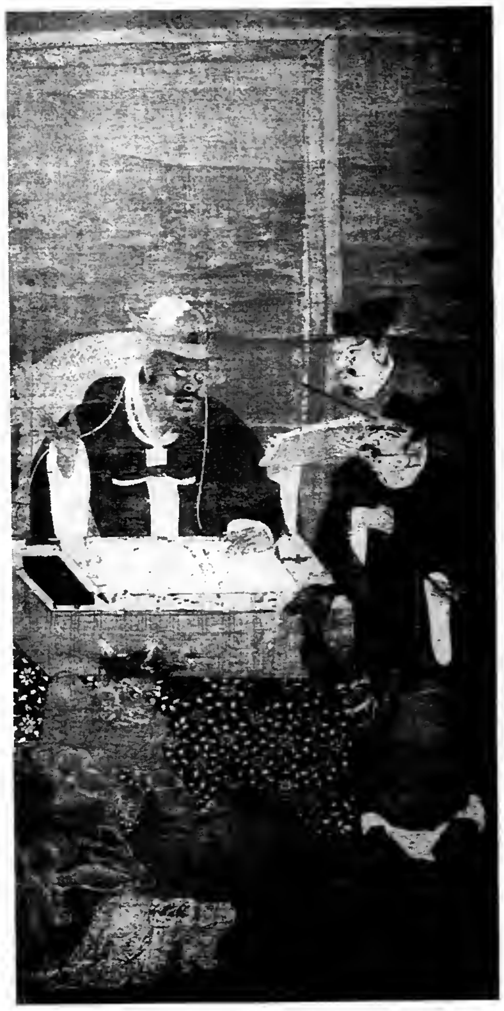


Fig. 7. One of the Ten Kings of Hell (ten Chinese paintings on silk from the Sung or Yuen dynasty, in the Daitokuji at Kyōto). From the *Kokkwa*, Nr. 175.

This work is divided into three chapters. It opens with a picture, representing Ti-tsang seated on a throne, in the shape of a çrāmana, with a large round halo behind his shaven head, the urṇa between his eyebrows, and the khakkhara in his right hand. On either side of the throne stands a young priest, also with a round glory, his hands joined and directed towards Ti-tsang. These are his two followers. On the left side "Father Horse", the usual horse-headed attendant of Hell, on the right side "Father Ox", his ox-headed counterpart, are standing, the former with a trident, the latter with a staff crowned with a lotus-flower. The Ten Kings of Hell,

three *hwun* and seven *p'oh* (三魂七魄, the *Yang* and *Yin* souls[1]) err about on the "five roads" (五道), and how their evil deeds are punished by the Ten Kings.

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five on each side, are standing in the foreground, clad in the costumes of high dignitaries, with crowns on their head and audience tablets (*hwuh*) in their hands (because according to the Taoists they go to the Palace of Heaven to report the deeds of mortals to the supreme Emperor). In the middle, in the foreground, an animal is sitting, with split hoofs, long ears and a long, hairy tail.

In the preface, which is not signed by the author, the latter states to have heard that the blessing power (virtues) of the compassionate kings of the Dark Department is inexhaustibly vast and great, and that the mercy of Ti-tsang of the Dark Palace is inexhaustibly large and deep. After having explained man's own actions to be the causes of his rebirth in heaven or hell, he instructs his readers that all good and evil deeds are carefully noted down under the rule of the Ten Kings and that everybody is rewarded or punished accordingly. For they look up to the compassionate Venerable of the Triratna and rely on the Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, 幽冥之教主 (Ti-tsang), whose vow is solemn and great, namely not to become a Buddha before all living beings of hell should have reached Perfect Enlightenment. As to the Ten Kings, the explanation of their wonderful Repentance (i. e. the Doctrine of Repentance, practised under their sway and explained in this sūtra) may release the living beings from hell. Finally, the Saptabuddha (Vipaçyī, Çikhī, Viçvabhū, Krakucanda, Kanakamuni, Kāçyapa and Çākyamuni, i. e. the three last Buddhas of the former kalpa and the four first ones of the Bhadra kalpa), as well as Maitreya, Kshitigarbha rāja Bodhisattva (Ti-tsang-wang P'u-sah), and the Ten Bodhisattva-kings of the Dark Department are invocated successively with the term *namu* ("homage to").

Each of the three chapters contains four invocations, placed at regular intervals. All these twelve invocations are directed to ten Buddhas[1], ten Bodhisattvas[2], the Ten Kings of Hell (also Bodhisattvas), and, finally, to five other Bodhisattvas[3].

The names of the Ten Kings are as follows: 秦廣王, *Ts'in-kwang-wang*, "Magnanimous King of Tsin". 2. 初江王, *Ch'u-kiang-wang*, "King of the First Stream (of Hades)". 3. 宋帝王, *Sung-Ti-wang*, "King who is Sovereign of Sung".

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[1] Çākyamuni, Amitābha, Maitreya, Amitāyus (Amitābha's Sambhogakāya, cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Myth. des Buddh. in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 118); the sixth, seventh and eighth Buddhas are Bhaishajyaguru (the Medicin-master), Padmaprabha (under which name Çāriputra is to reappear as Buddha), and Mahābhijñajñanabhibhu (大通知勝, "Conqueror of all-pervading wisdom, cf. EITEL, s. v.). As to the fifth, ninth and tenth Buddhas, their names are written as follows: 熾盛光王佛, 舍利多寶佛 (Çāriprabhūtaratna?) and 自在通王佛 (Içvarabhijña rāja?).

[2] Mañjuçrī, Samantabhadra, Avalokiteçvara, *Kshitigarbha*, and the following six: 道明大師 ("Great Master of Knowledge of the Road [to Perfect Intelligence]" or who leads to the Light of Intelligence), 消息災 ("He who causes to melt away and stops calamity"), 延壽王 ("The King who lengthens life"), 解寃結 ("He who loosens oppressing knots"), 豐都帝 ("The Emperor of the Abundant Capital"), and 東嶽帝 ("The Emperor of the Eastern Peak" [i. e. 泰山, T'ai shan]).

[3] Maudgalyāyana and 四承相菩薩, "The four Bodhisattvas who undertake assistance (who support and assist) (?)".

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Fig. 8. Ti-tsang, in the shape of a priest, riding on a tiger, with staff and almsbowl. Small wooden image in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum.

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five on each side, are standing in the foreground, clad in the costumes of high dignitaries, with crowns on their head and audience tablets (*hwuh*) in their hands (because according to the Taoists they go to the Palace of Heaven to report the deeds of mortals to the supreme Emperor). In the middle, in the foreground, an animal is sitting, with split hoofs, long ears and a long, hairy tail.

In the preface, which is not signed by the author, the latter states to have heard that the blessing power (virtues) of the compassionate kings of the Dark Department is inexhaustibly vast and great, and that the mercy of Ti-tsang of the Dark Palace is inexhaustibly large and deep. After having explained man's own actions to be the causes of his rebirth in heaven or hell, he instructs his readers that all good and evil deeds are carefully noted down under the rule of the Ten Kings and that everybody is rewarded or punished accordingly. For they look up to the compassionate Venerable of the Triratna and rely on the Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, 幽冥之教主 (Ti-tsang), whose vow is solemn and great, namely not to become a Buddha before all living beings of hell should have reached Perfect Enlightenment. As to the Ten Kings, the explanation of their wonderful Repentance (i. e. the Doctrine of Repentance, practised under their sway and explained in this sūtra) may release the living beings from hell. Finally, the Saptabuddha (Vipaçyī, Çikhī, Viçvabhū, Krakucanda, Kanakamuni, Kāçyapa and Çākyamuni, i. e. the three last Buddhas of the former kalpa and the four first ones of the Bhadra kalpa), as well as Maitreya, Kshitigarbha rāja Bodhisattva (Ti-tsang-wang P'u-sah) and the Ten Bodhisattva-kings of the Dark Department are invocated successively with the term *namu* ("homage to").

Each of the three chapters contains four invocations, placed at regular intervals. All these twelve invocations are directed to ten Buddhas[1], ten Bodhisattvas[2], the Ten Kings of Hell (also Bodhisattvas), and, finally, to five other Bodhisattvas[3].

The names of the Ten Kings are as follows: 秦廣王, *Ts'in-kwang-wang*, "Magnanimous King of Tsin". 2. 初江王, *Ch'u-kiang-wang*, "King of the First Stream (of Hades)". 3. 宋帝王, *Sung-Ti-wang*, "King who is Sovereign of Sung".

[1] Çākyamuni, Amitābha, Maitreya, Amitāyus (Amitābha's Sambhogakāya, cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Myth. des Buddh. in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 118); the sixth, seventh and eighth Buddhas are Bhaishajyaguru (the Medicin-master), Padmaprabha (under which name Çāriputra is to reappear as Buddha), and Mahābhijñajñanabhibhu (大通知勝, "Conqueror of all-pervading wisdom, cf. EITEL, s. v.). As to the fifth, ninth and tenth Buddhas, their names are written as follows: 寶燄光王佛, 舍利多寶佛 (Çāriprabhūtaratna?) and 自在通王佛 (Içvarabhijña rāja?).

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"*Doctrine of Repentance*" as *Tung-yoh-ti P'u-sah* or "The Bodhisattva Emperor of the Eastern Peak." EDKINS mentions him on p. 393 of the same work and states that this deity is worshipped in special temples as the ruler of the lower world. "He (*Tung-yoh ta-ti*, "The Great Emperor of the Eastern Peak") corresponds in attributes somewhat with Ti-tsang-wang p'u-sah, the Buddhist deliverer from hell. Like this Buddhist god, he rules only as a saviour and shares his authority with a large group of inferior divinities." Thus we see how the Taoists ascribed the supreme rule of Hades, attributed by the semi-Buddhist, semi-Taoist works to Ti-tsang-wang, to one of the ten kings who stood under his sway.

Professor CHAVANNES in his highly interesting work on T'ai-shan[1] explains the reason why the punishments of hell are represented in China in two kinds of Taoist temples, namely in those of the Municipal Gods (*Ch'ing-hwang miao*[2], 城隍廟), and in those of the god of T'ai-shan (*Tung-yoh miao*, 東嶽廟). Buddhism chose these cults to apply to them its own ideas on punishment and reward after death, because the Municipal god has to control and judge the conduct of the inhabitants of his city, and the god of Mount T'ai is the ruler of the dead. He not only guards his worshippers from drought, earthquakes and inundations, and acts as mediator between mankind and the Emperor of Heaven, but, being the ruler of the East, he is also the source of life, to which the souls return after death. From the first centuries of our era he was believed to rule the world of the dead, situated under his mountain, at the foot of which the souls were said to assemble on a little hill, called the *Hao-li shan*, 蒿里山. Therefore it is no wonder that the Buddhists chose his shrines to represent their punishments of hell, and that he either retained his rank of supreme ruler of the Dark Department, or became at least one of the Ten Kings under Ti-tsang's supremacy.

CHAVANNES gives in the same work[3] a list of the Ten Kings, and explains the name of the Taoist deity *Fung-tu ta-ti*, 豐都大帝, or "Great Emperor of the Abundant Capital". *Fung-tu* is the Taoist name of a subterranean kingdom, where the souls of the dead are judged. Its ruler is the supreme god of hell, whose ten attendants, presiding over the ten courts of justice, are called *Shih szĕ ts'ao-kwan*, 十司曹官, "The ten presiding judges". As to their names, CHAVANNES found these in a Tung-yoh temple at Han-yang (Hu-pei province) and in a shrine of the goddess of T'ai-shan (*niang niang miao*, 娘娘廟) at Mukden. They are the same as those given above, and also their order is the same; only the first character of the fourth name, written 五 in the Mukden shrine, was in the other temple 件, whereas in the list of the "Doctrine of Repentance" given above, this king is called 伍官王.

CHAVANNES remarks that the kings of an even number are placed on the West

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[1] *Le T'ai chan*, Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'études, Tome XXI (1910), pp. 15sq.
[2] Cf. DE GROOT, Fêtes annuelles à Emoui, Vol. II, pp. 586 sqq.
[3] P. 95, nr 116.

side, and those of an odd number on the East side, except nr 7 (*T'ai-shan-wang*), whose place is in the West, and no. 6 (*Pien-ch'ing-wang*), who is set up on the eastern side. Further, he refers to DUMOUTIER, *Rituel funéraire des Annamites* and to G. W. CLARKE, *The Yü-li or Precious Record*[1] (i. e. the *Yuh-li* or "Calendar of Jade", to be treated below, in the next paragraph), where the ten tribunals of hell are described and represented in picture. I am sorry to be unable to consult these works, because they are lacking in the Leiden library; therefore we may only refer the reader to the next paragraphs, where the contents of the *Yuh-li* and of a Japanese work on the Ten Kings are treated of shortly.

Three principal judges of hell were worshipped formerly in the *San ts'ao miao*, 三曹廟, or "Temple of the Three Judges", annexed to that of *Fung-tu* on T'ai-shan[2], but all the ten kings had their images there. These three gods are, as CHAVANNES observes, probably identical with the *San fah szĕ*, 三法司, worshipped in a building on the eastern side of the court before the *Jih wang tien*, 十王殿, or "Hall of the Ten Kings", also found on T'ai-shan[3]. In this main shrine an enormous gilded image of *Fung-tu* is seen, surrounded by two principal attendants and eight others with *kwéi* tablets (圭) in their hands, apparently the ten kings under *Fung-tu's* rule, two of whom seem to be of higher rank than the others. Near by, however, a shrine of *Ti-tsang*, the other Supreme Ruler of Hell, is found, the *Ti-tsang tien*, where he is worshipped in the shape of a Bodhisattva, seated with crossed legs and wearing the five-pointed crown.

After this digression we may return to the "*Doctrine of Repentance*". The first chapter successively prescribes the worship of all the *Buddhas* of the three worlds, past, present and future, the worship of the *Dharma* and of the *Sangha* (among which the priests of Mount *T'ien t'ai*, the seat of the Chinese and Japanese sects of this name [in Japan Tendai] are mentioned), and of the *Triratna* collectively.

In the second chapter the performers of these rites of Repentance are ordered to worship all the *devas* of the ten quarters, who protect the Law, all the numberless "holy beings" (聖) of the *Taoistic* church, as the "Black Warrior of the North Pole", the "Genii (眞) of Felicity, Imperial Favour and Long Life (福祿壽, Fuh, Luh and Sheu, represented in thousands of pictures), the 28 "Houses" (the zodiacal constellations), the seven stars of the Great Bear, the heavenly sien, the divine generals, the Five Mountains and Four Rivers (五嶽四瀆), etc. etc. After this interesting digression on Taoistic territory the author returns to Buddhistic fields and prescribes the worship of the Triratna of the ten quarters and of all the "Holy beings" (聖) of the Dharmadhātu (法界); finally, after the fourth invocation of the second chapter, he promises Anuttara Samyaksambodhi to the constant, compassionate and patient believers in Buddha's Law.

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[1] Journal of the China Branch of the R. A. S., N. S., vol. XXVIII, nr 2, pp. 234—400.
[2] CHAVANNES, l. l., p. 97, nr 117. [3] CHAVANNES, l. l., p. 111, nr 172.

The third chapter is especially devoted to the Ten Kings, whose worship is prescribed after the first invocation; that of the lower authorities of hell, resting under their government, is mentioned in the second place. Then all the numberless hells themselves are treated of, and all those present in the meeting are admonished to recite together, with zealous hearts, the "True Words (tantras) that break the hells" (破地獄眞言). We read there how magic formulae consisting of secret words remove all obstacles caused by former crimes. This and the "true words" at the end of the first chapter as well as the name of *Tantra-ruler* given to Ti-tsang, are evidence of the author's belonging to the Tantric school, founded in China in A. D. 719 by Vajrabodhi and spread after 746 by his pupil Amoghavajra; it is the Shingon doctrine preached from 806 in Japan by Kōbō Daishi.

The ten tribunals of the Kings of hell are enumerated after the first invocation of the third chapter (cf. fig. 6 and 7). At the first tribunal, presided by the "Magnanimous King of Ts'in", the officials of hell examine and discuss whether the souls are guilty or not, and with a clear knowledge of the facts they decide the retributions of their deeds. Then the souls pass before the second tribunal (of the "King of the first river"), where the mirror of actions, placed upon a stand, brightly reflects all the crimes committed in ordinary life. Their cases having been made clear by questioning them, they are judged accordingly. Then they come before the third tribunal, presided by the "King who is the sovereign of Sung", where the culprits are scalded and roasted by hot water and fire. At the fourth tribunal (of the "King of the five officials"), their bodies are pierced by sharp knives, their bellies are cut open and their hearts torn out, and they are beaten by Yakshas. At the fifth tribunal, where King Yama rules, those are sentenced who have committed the ten evils or the five refractory deeds (十惡五逆), or have spoken false and spurious language and have deceived and swindled others out of their valuable possessions. At the sixth tribunal, under the sway of the "King of Transformations", the relations of deeds being great in weight and number, the culprits are tortured by beating and their hands are fastened in the long cangue. The superintendents of hell at the seventh tribunal (under the "King of T'ai shan") whip the criminals, who have injured (oppressed) and killed. At the eighth tribunal, under the "Impartial King", the culprits are pushed by Yakshas, and weighed. At the ninth tribunal, under the "King of the Capital", Felicity and Imperial Favour are clearly understood, crimes are difficult to be hidden, and all sorts of right and evil are brought to light by examination. Before the tenth tribunal (that of the Çakravartī rāja), finally, all criminals are sentenced according to the judgments of each court, and those who have committed the ten evils are sent upon the three wicked paths. As to those who have performed the ten virtuous deeds, on the contrary, their way of rebirth is quickly decided; they always hear the beautiful Law and receive all kinds of joy.

Ten blessings are promised to those who in this religious meeting worship the




Fig. 9. The Ten Kings of Hell according to the *Butsuzō zuï*, III, p. 24.

Ten Kings and recite the Law of Repentance, to wit: they shall soon go to a holy land (聖地); their evil deeds shall be blotted out; all the Buddhas shall protect them; Bodhi shall not withdraw from them; their wisdom shall increase; they shall know all their former lives; they shall be clever and eloquent; their felicity and long life shall be vast and long; they shall obtain felicitous retributions in their future lives; and finally they shall become Buddhas.

As to *Ti-tsang* himself, he is praised in the beginning of the third chapter, where we read the following. 一切諸佛愍念衆生爲說十王妙懺。今當皈命頂禮冥陽敎主地藏慈尊，勸善大師，道明和尙，主治陰間叔度衆生。錫杖振開獄戶，寶珠照徹幽宮，地獄翻爲淨土, i. e. "All the Buddhas devote compassionate thoughts to the living beings, and on their behalf explain the Wonderful Repentance of the Ten Kings. We must now intrust our fate to Ti-tsang, the Tantra-ruler of Darkness and Light, the compassionate Venerable One, and worship him, the Great Master who exhorts (mankind) to virtuous deeds, the Priest who leads to Light (intelligence), the Ruler of the Region of Darkness (Hades), the Saviour of the living beings. *His khakkhara shakes and opens the doors of hell,*

*his precious pearl illumines and* (with its brilliant lustre) *penetrates the Dark Palace.* Hell then changes into Paradise; the hot water in the caldron turns into a lotus pond; the hell of the sword trees and sword mountains becomes a precious wood; the hell of the iron couches and copper pillars changes into lion seats; that of the sword wheels and fire cars into bright mirrors. The hell where the tongues are pulled out and plowed turns into a place (of assembly) of priests, and that where molten copper is swallowed changes into ( a place filled with) elaine (an unctuous rich liquor skimmed from boiled butter or ghee). The hell of the iron quern and of the black citadel turns into a World of Light and Brightness, that of the river of ashes and of the cold ice changes into a pure, cool realm. The hell of the wolves and hyenas, eagles and dogs turns into (a world of) virtuous friends, and that of the fire pit and the roasting (of the criminals) changes into five-coloured lotus flowers. The hell of swords and weapons, where two stones are striking together, turns into (a place with) golden dishes, and the hell where the bodies are sawn, dissected and nailed, changes into the precious chariot of a Tathāgata. The iron-walled Rāurava hell[1] turns into a hall for reading sūtras and preaching; the Ababa hell[2] changes into a pure, cool world, the Ahaha[3] hell into a heavenly palace, the Aṭaṭa[4] hell into a palace brilliant with *maṇi* pearls. The eight cold and the eight hot hells change into pure, cool or pleasantly warm corridors; the nine pounding and the nine grinding hells turn into palaces of *sien* with medicinal utensils. The hell where the culprits are skinned and their bones are scraped changes into an immeasurable, precious stūpa, and the hell where the bowels and lungs are torn out turns into a pure fasting place. All the hells, relying on the indication (announcement) of Buddha's light, change into pure Buddha lands."

Also the beginning of the first chapter is devoted to Ti-tsang. We read there the following: "All the Buddhas think with compassion about the living beings, and on their behalf explain the wonderful Repentance of the Ten Kings and the whole complex of rites to be performed on the place of ceremony, 道場總法. We now must intrust our fate to all the Buddhas. First we must worship the Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, who rules the troublesome periods of birth and death in the region of Darkness (Hades), the inconstant and quick turning about on the six gati and the sinking down under the three (evil) roads", 先伸瞻禮幽冥教主,掌治陰間生死難期,無常迅速輪廻于六趣之中,沒溺於三途之下。

These interesting passages show us Ti-tsang as the Supreme Ruler of Hell, standing above the Ten Kings and determining the fate of souls, but at the same time as the compassionate priest, opening and illuminating Hell by means of his khakkhara and his pearl, and changing Hell into Paradise. Thus Compassion rules even in the

[1] 叫喚 "crying". The 4th of the 8 large hot hells.
[2] The fourth of the 8 cold hells.
[3] The fifth of the 8 cold hells.
[4] The third of the 8 cold hells.

realms of Darkness, just as we sometimes see Kwanyin (Avalokiteçvara) represented in the midst of the kings of hell, with the lower officials of the dark region beneath, and the Supreme Ruler of Taoism, Shang-ti, throning above. Taoism and Buddhism go hand in hand, as we also saw in the second chapter of the same work.

### § 3. *The Yuh-lih or "Calendar of Jade".*

Another remarkable Chinese work on Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings, combining Taoism with Buddhism, is the *Yuh-lih*, 玉歷, or "Calendar of Jade". WYLIE[1] mentions a work entitled *Yuh-lih ch'ao-chw'en king-shi*, 玉歷鈔傳警世, "Warning the age by documentary traditions of the calendar of jade", which he describes as "one of the lower class of Taoist productions of recent times, giving a detailed account of the mysteries and horrors of the invisible world, with a description of the courts of the Ten Kings of hades, by a Taoist named TAN CH'I, 淡癡, who professed to have made an excursion into the regions of darkness, and brought back the account for the benefit of his mundane contemporaries. The Buddhist doctrine of purgatory is largely transplanted into this publication". The *Yuh-lih*, also called *Ts'zĕ-ngen Yuh-lih*, 慈恩玉歷, "Jade calendar of mercy", is a reprint of the same work, dating from 1809; the copy I use is a later edition of 1870. We read there (on p. 14a) the following. "The book entitled "*Yuh lih*" was received from the Taoist TAN CH'I, and his pupil WUH SHUH transmitted it". In the 26th year of the Kien-lung era (1761) it was recognized as an old book of the later Sung dynasty, and there are passages in it which mention the year 1030 as falling in Tan Ch'i's life time.

After some pictures representing Shang-Ti throning as judge of the dead, surrounded by his officials, and virtuous souls rewarded with heavenly joy, while the wicked are tortured by the demons of hell, we see *Ti-tsang*[2], in the robe of a priest, with the urṇa on his forehead, wearing a five-pointed crown and with a round halo behind his head. He rides on a tiger, and is escorted by his attendants, two young priests, of whom one carries his master's khakkhara, whereas the other holds a long streamer adorned with a lotus flower. We read on the streamer: "The Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, King Ti-tsang the Bodhisattva, 幽冥教主地藏王菩薩." A boy leads the tiger with a cord. As to the tiger, a small wooden image of this Bodhisattva in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum also represents Ti-tsang carried by this mighty expeller of evil demons (fig. 8).

The origin of the *Yuh lih* is explained as follows[3]. "The Emperor of Jade (Shang-Ti) mercifully composed and proclaimed the Calendar of Jade (indicating how) the men and the women of the world by improving and repenting their former sins may atone for their evil actions. On the birthday of the Bodhisattva

[1] Notes on Chinese literature (2nd ed.), p. 223.
[2] P. 19 a.
[3] P. 19 b.

King Ti-tsang, the Tantra-ruler of the Realm of Darkness, all the divine Lords of the ten Palaces (of Hell) joined their palms and bowed and prayed (to him). The Bodhisattva displayed a great compassion and said: 'I wish to save the living beings. Whenever this evening descends (i. e. on the evening of the thirtieth day of the seventh month) I command that all the crimes of the evil spirits separately be forgiven or extinguished, and that they depart and be born again on the six *gati*. For what reason are there few who are virtuous and many who are wicked? Seeing the punishments ordained by the rulers of the Darkness I am in great sorrow. A careful distinction and comparison ought to be made as to which crimes may be repented of. Those who in the world of light (on earth) have turned (from the evil path) and on having been admonished have performed one or two virtuous deeds, ought to be leniently considered having a chance of diminishing, substituting or remitting their punishments.''

After a discussion of the Ten Kings concerning good and evil retributions and forgiveness in case of repentance, Ti-tsang approved their words and on the third day of the eighth month led them to the Emperor of Heaven in order to report their decision. Shang-Ti praised them and sanctioned the idea of forgiving repenting sinners and causing them to be reborn in felicity. He said that he would speedily write down in a *book of jade* all the items reported to him, and make them known on earth to the gods of the city walls and moats (the tutelar deities of the cities) and to those of the earth and the gate and the kitchen, that they might carry them out respectfully.

Then follow detailed and illustrated descriptions of the ten courts of justice in hell, the names of the ten kings (秦廣王, 楚江王, 宋帝王, 五官王, 閻羅天子, 卞城王, 泰山王, 都市王, 平等王, 轉輪王[1]) and of the hells belonging to their departments, the crimes committed, the punishments imposed and the ways of obtaining forgiveness. Fasting, uttering repentance and vowing not to do evil again, cause redemption from the hells and sometimes even regeneration in paradise or in blissful regions, if performed on special days, nearly always the so-called "birthdays" of the different kings.

A list of festivals, most of which are birth days ofBuddhas, Bodhisattvas or gods, is given on pp. 62 sq. The birthdays are the following. On the first, eighth and ninth day of the first month Maitreya, King Yama (the fifth king) and Shang-Ti. On the first, second, eighth, eighteenth and nineteenth day of the second month the first king, the Earth god, the third and fourth king, and Kwanyin. On the first, eighth and twenty seventh day of the third month the second, sixth and seventh king. On the first, eighth, fifteenth and seventeenth day of the fourth month the eighth and

[1] Thus the names of the second, fourth and sixth kings are more or less different from those mentioned in the preceding work, where they are written: 初江王, 伍官王, and 變成王, while the eighth and ninth kings have changed names.

ninth king, Çākyamuni and the tenth king. On the eleventh day of the fifth month the gods of city walls and moats. On the thirtieth day of the seventh month *Ti-tsang*. On the third day of the eighth month the Kitchengod. Further festivals are Kwanyin's "completing the road" (成道) on the nineteenth day of the sixth month, and Çākyamuni's reaching Buddhaship, on the eighth day of the twelfth month, while on the 24th of the twelfth month the Kitchengods of every house ascend to give their reports about the good and evil deeds of the inmates to the Heavenly Emperor.[1]

On Ti-tsang's birthday, in the evening of which the Ullambana, the festival of the dead, which lasts the whole seventh month, comes to an end and the hell is closed, vows are made to assist and save all lonely souls (for whom no relatives care).

On p. 49 b a female deity of hell is mentioned, a virtuous woman of the family name *Meng*, called *Meng P'o*, 孟婆, or "Mother Meng". She lived in the early Han dynasty, and after having read the Confucian books in her youth, she read the Buddhist sūtras when being grown up. She read all matters of the past, but did not care for those of the future or of the present time. She only exhorted the people to refrain from killing and to eat pure food (vegetables). She reached the age of eighty one years, and had the hair of a crane (i. e. white) and the face of a youth. She was appointed goddess of the Dark region by a decree of Shang-Ti. She built a "Tower of drinking (regaling on) forgetfulness", 醧忘一臺, and mixed a liquor, resembling wine and combining the five tastes, sweet, bitter, acrid, sour and salt. All souls when returning to the world drink this liquor, which causes them to forget all particulars of their former lives. It improves the functions of the organs of the virtuous and weakens those of the wicked. Giving knowledge of the retributions beforehand, it causes mankind to feel repentance and become virtuous.

When this *Yuh lih* was read to the demons, they wept with gratitude for the merciful forgiveness and vowed to follow its teachings when having reached the world of light[2]. Then a multicoloured vapour covered the earth and *Kwanyin* descended, led by the Great Emperor; and the Ten Kings came out of their palaces and respectfully stood in the vermilion avenues (the courtyards of their palaces), bowing their heads. The Bodhisattva (Kwanyin) appeared in the majestic shape of a demon with a scorched face, measuring six golden bodies, and uttered his joy because Shang-Ti had approved the proposal of Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings with regard to forgiving the repentant sinners and because he had mercifully promulgated the *Yuh lih*. Kwan-yin predicted Buddhaship to those who should exhort mankind to be virtuous and repentant, thus saving them from hell, and then ascended, carried by a cloud. The Ten Kings returned to the Dark Department and the Great Emperor retired to his Palace, while his judges added Kwan-yin's golden words to the *Yuh-lih*.

Thus we see Kwan-yin, the counterpart of Ti-tsang as the compassionate saviour

[1] Cf. DE GROOT, *Fêtes annuelles à Emoui*, Annales du Musée Guimet, XI, Vol. I, p. 30.
[2] P. 58 b.

from hell, applauding the doctrine of Forgiveness and Repentance, set up by Ti-tsang and the Ten Kings. As in the preceding work, repentance is preached as the way to salvation.

### § 4. *A Japanese work on the Ten Kings.*

Although we do not find many traces of the belief in the Ten Kings of Hell in Japan, there is one little Japanese book in my possession which proves its having been adopted by the Nichiren sect. This work is entitled: *Hokke jū-ō sandan eshō*, 法華十王讃嘆繪鈔, or "Illustrated copy in praise of the Ten Kings of the Flower of the Law". In the beginning of the book is stated that it was composed by NICHIREN DAISHI, the founder of the sect (A. D. 1222—1282); but the fact that it was edited at Kyōto by the *Gondaikōgi* HATANO NIKKYŌ, 權大講義畑野日教, of *Hommanji*, 本滿寺, in the sixteenth year of Meiji (1883) renders the former statement very dubious.

The book opens with a picture representing Çākyamuni, after having explained the Law, seated on a lotus, with the Ten Kings standing before him and six old priests with round haloes standing at his sides. Their number reminds us of the Six Jizō's, but they do not carry their attributes. Two of them are folding their hands in prayer, and one is carrying an almsbowl (pātra). The Ten Kings are standing on clouds before a rock upon which Çākyamuni is seated on the lotus. The work is divided into two chapters the first of which treats of the first six Kings, while the second gives details about the remaining four Kings, as well as about the so-called *Daibyaku gosha* (大白牛車), the *Ullambana* or festival of the dead, the Bodhi-masses to be held, the six fasting days and Paradise, and the distribution of food to the Pretas.

The first chapter is divided into seven paragraphs. The first paragraph explains the angry countenances of the Ten Kings. They are Buddhas of the past and Bodhisattvas who, pitying the ordinary men involved in the endless sansāra, temporarily changed their harmonious, patient attitude into an angry appearance. Thus they gradually receive the souls of the dead when going along the Road of the Middle Darkness, 中有冥闇, *Chū-u mei-an* (i. e. the dark space between this world and Hades), from the first seventh day till the hundredth day, one year, three years after their death. By considering the degree of their crimes they fix their future. This is a divine and wonderful way of converting men and leading them to the road of salvation from the sansāra by causing them to fear the consequences of crime.

The six following paragraphs show us the souls reaching the first King's tribunal on the 7th day after their death, that of the second on the 14th, that of the third on the 21st, that of the fourth on the 28th, that of the fifth on the 35th and that of the sixth on the 42nd. The four first paragraphs of the second chapter describe their arrival at the seventh tribunal on the 49th day, at the eighth on the 100th day, at he ninth on the first anniversary of their death and at the tenth after three years.

These are the days prescribed by the Buddhist church for fasting and masses for the dead, the former to be practised by their relatives, the latter, at the request of these relatives, by Buddhist priests. Fasting and praying to the King before whose tribunal the soul arrives on each of those days is the most important duty of the family, for it may diminish the severity of the King's judgment.

The second paragraph of the first chapter is illustrated with three pictures, representing a person's death, his sorrowful wandering through the dark space between this world and Hades, the *Chū-u mei-an* mentioned above, and his painful climbing of the steep, sharp-pointed Mountain of Death, *Shide no yama*, 死出の山, persecuted by the demons, who already lurked for him in the Middle Darkness. From the top of this mountain, which is 800 miles high, a hurricane blows in the face of the unhappy sufferers, who at last reach the tribunal of the "Magnanimous King of Ts'in", *Shin-kwō-ō*[1], a manifestation of *Fudō Myō-ō*, 不動明王. If the gravity of their crimes is not yet fixed there, they are sent to the second King, the "King of the first river", *Sho-kō-ō*, 初江王, a manifestation of *Shaka Nyorai* (*Çākyamuni*). To reach his tribunal they have to cross the *Sanzugawa*[2], 三途川, or "River of the Three roads", also called *Naiga*[3], or "What to do (no alternative) river." This river is forty yojanas broad. It may be crossed in three spots, which fact the author asserts to be the reason of its name; but the "Three Roads", *Sanzu*, are often mentioned as the regions where the souls of the wicked are tormented: the regions of fire, blood, and sword. The upper ford is called *Sensui-se*, 淺水瀨, or "Shoal of shallow water". Here the water does not reach higher than the knees, and it is therefore the spot where those who only committed slight crimes cross the river. The middle ford is called *Kyōdo*, 橋渡, or "Bridge-ford", because there is a bridge constructed of gold, silver and the others of the seven precious materials[4], only to be crossed by the virtuous. The lower ford, finally, is named *Gōshin-do*, 强深渡 (or *Gōshin-se*, 强深瀨), "Violent and deep ford"; only the wicked have to pass through the rapid, turbulent waves, attacked and bitten by poisonous snakes, smashed by heavy stones, dying and reviving, and hit by the arrows of demon kings and Yakshas. Seven days and seven nights they are in the water, suffering immensely. Then they reach the shore, for the *Jūō-kyō*[5],

[1] 秦廣王. The names of the Kings are the same as those mentioned in the "Doctrine of the wonderful Repentance (practised in worship of) the Ten Merciful Kings" (above § 2), except those of the fifth and tenth Kings, which are here 五官王 and 五道輪轉王 instead of 伍官王 and 轉輪王; they agree with those of the *Butsuzō zuī*, III, p. 24.

[2] Also pronounced *Sōzugawa*.

[3] 奈河, cf. WELLS WILLIAMS, Chin. Dict. s. v. 奈, p. 613: "The Buddhist river Styx, so called because the soul cannot help crossing it; paper boats are burned sixty days after death to aid in the passage, otherwise it may be drowned". Sixty days after death would be too late! GILES (Chin.-Engl. Dict. s. v. 奈, no. 8121) mentions a 奈何橋, "the No Alternative Bridge, in Purgatory, which all departed spirits are forced to cross."

[4] Saptaratna, 七寶, *Shichi-hō:* gold, silver, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, rubies, amber (or coral, diamand, emerald) and agate (or ammonite or coral).

[5] I. e. the sūtra mentioned above.

十王經, says: "On the second seventh day the criminals cross the 'What to do-river' (Naiga)". Driven and pulled on shore by ox-headed and other demons, they fall into the hands of an old female demon, called *Ken-i-ba*, 懸衣嫗, or "The old woman who hangs up the clothes", who strips off their clothes and hands these over to the *Ken-i-ō*, 懸衣翁, or "The old man who hangs up the clothes". This male demon sits upon a tree on the branches of which he hangs the clothes. Thus the culprits have to appear almost naked, wearing only a waistcloth, before the remaining nine kings. Then they arrive at the second tribunal, and if the degree of their crimes is not yet fixed there, they are despatched to the third King, called *Sō-tai-ō*, 宗帝王, "King who is the sovereign of Sung"; this is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva *Mañjuçrī*. On the way to his palace the souls have to pass the so-called "Barrier of deeds" (*Gyōkwan*, 業關), guarded by a twelve-eyed, twelve-horned demon, whose eyes emit light like flashes of lightning, and who breathes out flames. Their legs and arms are cut off upon a wooden table; yet they arrive before the King.

The next judge, the "King of the five officials" (i. e. the five senses: ears, eyes, mouth, nose and mind), *Gokwan-ō*, 五官王, is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fugen). Before appearing before him on the 28th day after their death, the souls have to pass the so-called *Gyōkō*, 業江, or "River of deeds". This river is 500 miles broad, and its water is hot and stinks. The sinners are driven into the river by demons who beat them with sticks, and are then stung by poisonous insects with iron beaks. After seven days they reach the opposite shore, where the "King of the five officials" resides. At his order they are weighed in the "Balance of deeds", *Gyō no hakari*, 業の秤, and although they are very light, the weight of their crimes is so great that the very big stone which forms the counterbalance is raised like a feather. The demons "Ox-head" and "Horse-head", 牛頭, *Gozu*, and 馬頭, *Mezu*, point at the balance and angrily ask the culprits what this means. After having been admonished to repent their crimes they are sent to the fifth tribunal, that of *King Yama*, who is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva *Jizō* (i. e. Ti-tsang).

This is the first time we meet Jizō's name in this book. The author states that Yama is called the "King who stops and reproves", *Sokujō-ō*, 息諍王. This palace lies five hundred yojanas deep under the earth in a seven-storied castle, sixty yojanas in diameter, surrounded by an iron wall, with an iron gate on all four sides. On either side of each gate a staff is planted, surmounted by human heads, which see the conduct of mankind and report the crimes of the dead to King Yama. Then there is a separate building, called the "Building of Light", *Kwōmyō-in*, 光明院, in which nine mirrors are placed, one on each of the eight sides and one in the centre. The central mirror is called the *Jōhari no kagami*, 淨頗梨鏡, "Mirror of pure rock crystal (sphāṭika)". King Yama's face is very fierce and angry, and the flashing light of his eyes, as well as the terrible thunder of his voice, immensely frighten the sinners. He reminds them of their crimes and their lack of repentance, and says

that they shall be thrown into hell. The demons of hell seize them by the hair and show them their own deeds in the mirror, treating them most cruelly. On this 35th day masses for the dead are to be said and sacrifices to King Yama are to be made. For this is, so to speak, a turning point of Purgatory. The virtuous actions of the souls are carefully examined here, and Yama fixes their destiny as to their reaching Buddhaship, their rebirth among men or in heaven, or their being despatched to the Sixth King.

This is the "King of Transformations", *Henjō-ō*, 變成王, a manifestation of *Maitreya*. Before reaching his tribunal on the 42d day, the wicked souls have to pass the so-called "Place of the Iron balls", *Tetsugwanjo*, 鐵丸所, a dry river bed, 800 miles broad and filled with round stones. These stones tremble and revolve and collide with a thundering noise, at each collision emitting flashes like lightning. The demons drive the sinners among these stones, which smash their bodies and kill them. But they revive and are smashed again. This lasts for seven days and seven nights, whereupon they reach the sixth tribunal. Here they have to choose one of the "three roads at the foot of the two trees", 雙木之三途, and all who are guilty take the evil road, persecuted by the demons with their heavy clubs. When they are still thinking to have chosen the good road, suddenly a stream of boiling copper bursts forth and burns their bodies. Then the King says that they are liars because they pretended to be innocent, while their choosing the wicked road is evidence of the contrary. Masses for the dead, said on this day, by pious children or relatives, may relieve them from these sufferings. If the place where they are to be born again is not yet fixed by this King, they are sent to the next one.

On the 49th day they arrive there, before the "King of Mount T'ai", *Taisan-ō*, 泰山王, a manifestation of *Yakushi Nyorai*, 藥師如來, the Medical Tathāgata, i. e. Bhaishajyaguru[1]. But first they have to pass through the so-called *Antetsusho*, 暗鐵所, or "Place of Darkness and Iron", a pitch-dark, narrow path, 500 miles long, with iron rocks on either side. They wound their bodies at the corners of the rocks, which are sharp like swords, and when they advance, the rocks suddenly join and close the passage; when they stop, the rocks open again. Thus they suffer immensely for seven days and seven nights, till they reach the seventh tribunal. This king decides which of the six roads all the sinners shall enter. There are six gates here, respectively leading to Hell, the Pretas, the Animals, the Asuras, Men, and Heaven, 六道：地獄道, 餓鬼道, 畜生道, 修羅道, 人間道, 天上道. Therefore masses for the dead are to be said on this 49th day, that they may enter upon a good road instead of upon an evil one. If their places of regeneration are not yet fixed, however, they are despatched to the eighth king.

[1] Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, p. 114, fig. 93.

[2] *Rokudō: jigokudō, gakidō, chikushōdō, shuradō, ningendō, tenjōdō.* The Asuras are represented fighting with swords and bows.

This king, whose court is reached on the 100th day after death, is named the "Impartial King", *Hyōdō-ō*, 平等王. He is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva *Kwan-se-on* (Kwannon, i. e. Kwanyin, Avalokiteçvara). On the way to his tribunal a river-bed, called *Tetsubyōsen*, 鐵氷山, or "Mountain of Iron-ice", 500 miles broad, is to be crossed. The ice there is not frozen water, but thick iron turned into ice (*atsuki tetsu no kōri nari*). The limbs of the unhappy sinners are frozen, and a hurricane breaks the ice with a thundering noise. Persecuted by the demons they go upon the ice, which is 400 miles thick and suddenly giving way closes itself around their bodies. Yet they arrive at the eighth tribunal at last and are severely addressed by the King. Masses are to be said for them on this day to save them from an evil place of rebirth. If this is not yet fixed, they go to the ninth tribunal.

The ninth King, whose name is "King of the capital city", *Toji-ō*, 都市王, is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva *Daiseishi*, 大勢至, i. e. Mahāsthānaprāpta, with Kwannon the constant attendant of Amida (Amitābha). Before his eyes they have to open the so-called "Light-boxes", *Kwōmyō-bako*, 光明箱, which emit fire when being opened by guilty souls, and burn them. Then they are beaten by the demons and the King says: "Although the former Kings did not yet throw you into hell, you came here only on account of the masses and sacrifices of the world of men (*shaba*, 娑婆). You are wicked people, for you did not think of me; but your wives and children are pious and virtuous. Owing to their celebrating this anniversary of your death (*isshūki*, 一周忌) you are going to the tribunal of the third anniversary (instead of being thrown into hell by me). Also the sufferings on the road thither seem hard to bear. In order to reach Buddhaship without finishing the period of all the Kings (i. e. without passing three years in Purgatory), one must become a devout believer himself and masses must be said (by his relatives on behalf of his soul)".

The tenth King, to be reached on the third anniversary, is called *Godō-rinden-ō*[1], 五道輪轉王, the "King of the turning of the wheel of the five roads" (i. e. the five *gati*: those of the beings in hell, Pretas, animals, men and Devas; if the Asuras are added, there are six *gati*). He is a manifestation of *Çākyamuni*. Although the sufferings of Purgatory are severe, they are like one drop of a great ocean in comparison to the sufferings of Hell. Only masses for the dead, 追善, *tsuizen*, may save the sinners from being thrown into hell after having reached the last King, and may cause them to be reborn in a good place. The others, if not becoming servants of Purgatory by special mercy of the King, are sent to the hells. Then follows a description of the different hells, 136 in number, and two pictures show the miseries of the eight great hells.

The twelfth paragraph of the second chapter gives a description and a picture of the so-called *Daibyaku gosha*, 大白牛車, or Great White Ox car, on which the believers and worshippers of the *Hokkekyō* (Saddharma pundarīka sūtra, especially worshipped by the Nichiren sect) shall drive to the Holy Mountain, 靈山. It is a great temple

[1] In the other texts he was called: 轉輪王, the "King who turns the wheel", Cakravartī.

on wheels, filled with holy beings and believers. It is 5000 yojana in diameter, and it has golden wheels and 37 stories, glittering with silver.

The thirteenth paragraph treats of the Ullambana, the festival of the dead, celebrated in the seventh month, and said to have found its origin in Maudgalyāyana's having tried in vain to relieve his mother's sufferings in the Preta world. Then follow, in the last three paragraphs, particulars concerning masses, the six fasting days (the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23d, 29th and 30th days of each month), two pictures of Paradise, and the distributing of food to the Pretas. Finally, a curious picture, found on p. 26 of the second chapter, may be mentioned. It represents Taira Kiyomori's painful death (1181) on account of his having lived in extravagance and having despised the gods and the Buddhas. In a fearful fever the mighty prime minister in vain seeks refuge in cold water which becomes heated by his body. The ladies-in-waiting in vain run with buckets of water and pour them out into the bath. An ox-headed demon of hell approaches through the air, accompanied by another demon drawing the frightful car of fire, which shall carry the sinner to hell.

It is remarkable that Jizō is mentioned in this book, not as the ruler of the Ten Kings and the Saviour from hell, but as Yama, the fifth of the Ten Kings himself. Also the idea of the other Kings being manifestations, respectively of Fudō Myō-ō, Çākyamuni, Mānjuçrī, Samantabhadra, Maitreya, Bhaishajyaguru, Avalokiteçvara, Mahasthānaprāpta and again Çākyamuni, is new to us. Jizō does not appear in this work except in the shape of Yama. It is clear that the Ten Kings reside in Purgatory and not in the hells themselves, and that each of them may give a decisive judgment if the virtues or crimes of a soul do not permit any doubt; otherwise they send it to the next tribunal.

When comparing the list of the Ten Kings and their *honchi* (i. e. the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas of whom they were thought to be manifestations) with those given by the *Butsuzō zuï* (III, p. 24)[1], we see that all the names[2] agree except that of the tenth King's *honchi*, which is called *Çākyamuni* (like the second) in this work and *Amitābha* in the *Butsuzō zuï* (cf. fig. 9). The latter indication is more plausible, because Kwannon and Seishi are the two preceding ones. Thus the list is as follows: Fudō, Shaka, Monju, Fugen, Jizō, Miroku, Yakushi nyorai, Kwannon, Seishi and Amida nyorai, i. e. Acala, Çākyamuni, Mañjuçrī, Samantabhadra, Kshitigarbha, Maitreya, Bhaishajyaguru, Avalokiteçvara, Mahāsthānaprāpta and Amitābha.

The *Butsuzō zuï* gives also the days after death on which the souls reach the different tribunals, as we saw above, and the Lanca characters which form their mystic signs. Moreover, it tries to explain the names of the Ten Kings. As to the

[1] 佛像圖彙, published in A. D. 1690, with pictures of TOSA HIDENOBU, 土佐秀信, and text of the Buddhist priest GIZAN, 義山. It forms the basis of HOFFMANN's *Pantheon von Nippon*, VON SIEBOLD's *Nippon*, V.

[2] That of the seventh king, whom he calls 太山王, is identical to 泰山王, for 泰 is often contracted to 太.

characters of the first name, 秦廣, it explains the first as compassionate and familiar, and the second as vast, immense, all pervading. In the same way the character 宋 of the third name is explained as 主 and 尊 chief, venerable, whereas 秦 and 宋 are simply the names of the Ts'in and Sung dynasties and are never found in the sense of "compassionate and familiar", "chief and venerable". Thus the explanations of these two names are mere invention of the author of the *Butsuzō zuī* or of some older writer followed by him. With regard to the second name, that of the "King of the First River", he is wrong in explaining this "first river" as the first of the "three *fords*", 三津. It is apparently the first of the three rivers of Hades, the *Sanzugawa* itself, and not the first of its three fords. After having crossed this river the souls arrive at this king's tribunal. The two other rivers of hell are the "River of deeds" (*Gyōkō*) between the third and the fourth tribunal, and the dry river bed called the "Place of the Iron Balls" (*Tetsugwanjo*) between the fifth and the sixth tribunal.

The 五官 of the name of the fourth king are according to the *Butsuzō zuī* 五刑, the five punishments, because they are "the chief punishments"; this is mere nonsense again. The five senses (ears, eyes, mouth, nose and mind) are called "The five officials"; perhaps this king's name means "Ruler of the five senses".

Thus we see that the explanations of the *Butsuzō zuī* with regard to these names have no value at all. It calls e. g. the seventh king (the King of Mount T'ai) the heir apparent (太子) of King Yama! In other respects, however, it is a very good and useful book for the study of Japanese Buddhism.

## CHAPTER II.

## TI-TSANG IN MAGIC AND DIVINATION.

### § 1. "*Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha*", *a Tantric work on Ti-tsang.*

Ti-tsang is the subject of a very short but interesting treatise of the Tantric school entitled: "*Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha*", *Ti-tsang P'u-sah i-kwei*, 地藏菩薩儀軌[1].

We read in the beginning of this little work that it was translated by ÇUBHAKARA, 輸婆迦羅, from Central India, i. e. the well-known çramaṇa, whose name was rendered WU-WEI, the "Fearless one", or SHEN WU WEI, the "Virtuous and Fearless one", and whom we mentioned above[2] as the translator of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*. If is not a Chinese counterfeit and if he actually translated these "Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha", this was done between A. D. 716 and 735. The contents of this treatise are as follows.

When Çākyamuni explained the Law on Mount 佉羅提耶 (*Kha-la-ti-ya*[3], the

[1] Kyōto Supplement of the Tripiṭaka, Bundle III, Catal. no. 112.
[2] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5.
[3] Cf. above, sect. I, Ch. I, § 3, where I gave Professor SYLVAIN LÉVI's explanation of this name.

same place of assembly as in the Sūtra on the Ten Wheels[1]), to innumerable Bodhisattvas, monks and nuns, Devas, Nāgas, demons and spirits, a great Man[2], named Kshitigarbha, respectfully asked permission to explain some divine mantras for the benefit of all living beings. After having obtained this permission he recited three mantras, which were so powerful, that even the Great Bodhisattvas lost their mind and the Devas, Nāgas etc. ran away in a great fright and tumbled to the ground. Sun, moon and stars lost their light, darkness covered the sky, and a rain of precious flowers descended. "Even if one spoke for a whole kalpa about the power of these mantras he would not be able to exhaust this subject". Then Kshitigarbha in the following terms explained the method of painting his (Kshitigarbha's) effigy. "Make an image of a *çrāvaka*[1], 聲門, clad in a kashaya, the end of which covers his left shoulder. His left hand should hold a flower in full bloom, his right hand should distribute fearlessness [i. e. make the *Abhayamudrā*, raised and showing its palm]. He must be seated on a lotus flower. Again [now follows a second description], the image of the Great Man, seated on a throne[3], (must) wear a Celestial Cap and a kashaya, and carry a lotus flower in his left hand, the right (making a mudrā) like before (i. e. the Abhayamudrā). He must be seated on a lotus stand of nine layers." 次說畫像法。作聲門形像，藏袈裟，端覆左肩。左手持盈華形，右手施無畏。令坐蓮華。復居座大士像頂著天冠，著袈裟。左手持蓮華莖，右手如先。令安坐九品蓮臺。

Then Kshitigarbha gave some mudrā-mantras, 印呪, and finally explained the doctrine (method) of bringing about one's wishes, 成就法. If one wants to get great felicity and virtue, he must 70000 times perform the *homa*[4] (Chin. *ho-mo*, Jap. *goma*), 護摩, offering of Aka wood, 阿迦木. To see fulfilled his wishes with regard to the five cereals, i. e. obtain a good harvest, one must perform the same ceremony with rice, fruits and flowers. If one wants to render another felicitous, he must do the same with earth taken from that man's furnace. In the same way thirty thousand *homa* offerings are prescribed for curing madness and other diseases, or for blotting out evil, producing good, and for rebirth in Paradise. The same offerings, in each case, however, with other herbs, are to be made if one wishes to obtain a high rank, or the fall of his enemies in all his births, or the ruin of a heterodox family possessing evil, supernatural power, or the return of a curse upon its wicked author's own head, etc. etc.

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[1] Cf. above, Sect. I. Ch. I, § 3.

[2] 大士; cf. MIURA KENSUKE'S *Bukkyō iroha jiten*, Vol. II, p. 175, s. v. 大士: "According to the Mahāyāna School a man of great faith, who has made a great vow; great of action, position, wisdom; a man who cuts off great errors, completely testifies the Great Reason, and who shall complete a great karma and pass through great births." According to GILES, Dict. no. 10470: "A title for a Buddhist priest."

[3] The editor of the text doubts the genuineness of these and the following words.

[4] Cf. GRÜNWEDEL, *Myth. des Buddh.*, p. 36: "Brandopfer (*homa*), wobei Senfsamen eine wichtige Rolle spielt."

If one performs these ceremonies on the 8th, 14th and 15th days of the bright, i. e. the first half, of the month, 白月[1], he is sure to have complete success.

We thus find Kshitigarbha, in the shape of a priest, seated upon a lotus, with a lotus flower in his left hand and with the right making the Abhayamudrā, worshipped by the Tantric school as a Bodhisattva of great magical power, who teaches the living beings mantras and magical ceremonies.

§ 2. *The sūtra on the divination practised by means of "wooden wheels".*

Knowledge of one's good and evil deeds in former existences may show one the way to salvation. *Divination* being the means of obtaining this knowledge, Ti-tsang, the saviour of the living beings, is the right Bodhisattva to explain the methods of divination, necessary for attaining this aim.

This idea forms the base of a remarkable sūtra in the Chinese canon, No. 464 of NANJŌ's Catalogue. It is entitled "Sūtra on the divinatory examination of the retributions of good and evil deeds", *Chen ch'ah shen ngoh yeh pao king*, 占察善惡業報經. We read in the beginning of this work, that it was translated by "The foreign çramana 菩提登 (BODHIDĪPA?) of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589—618)", 隋外國沙門菩提登[2]. Some Japanese scholars, however, declare it to be a Chinese counterfeit[3]. Divination by means of sticks, prescribed in this sūtra, is typically Chinese, and the two genuine sūtras on Ti-tsang's Original Vow and on the Ten Wheels, treated above[4], refrain from mentioning this subject, so that we are also inclined to reject its Indian origin. A Chinese Buddhist priest — probably living at the time of the Sui dynasty — may have invented this divination and have selected Ti-tsang, the prominent saviour from hell, to be the patron and leading deity of its performers. The monk may intentionally have called himself "a foreign çramana", in order to cause the readers to believe the foreign origin of his sūtra, or he may for the same purpose have used the name of a really Indian priest. There is no other work translated by a priest of this name.

In this work we read the following. In a large assembly on the Ghridrakūta a Bodhisattva requested the Buddha to explain the means of saving the living beings, to be born in the unhappy age, which the Tathāgata had predicted when after his entering Nirvāna the Saddharma and the Saddharma pratirūpaka should be extinguished. The Buddha answers that the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, present in this assembly, shall explain this, and he praises Ti-tsang's original vow by the power of which the latter can save the living beings.

[1] The first half of the month is called the white or bright month, the latter being the black or dark month.
[2] Cf. NANJŌ, App. II, nr. 130, p. 433.
[3] *Tetsugaku daijisho*, pp. 1166 sqq., s. v. Jizō Bosatsu.
[4] Sect. I, Ch. I, §§ 2 and 3.

Then the Buddha requests Ti-tsang to explain the means of saving the living beings born in that unhappy age. Ti-tsang readily gives an extensive explanation, which forms the bulk of the sūtra. He prescribes the use of the "method of divinatory examination of the wooden wheels", 木輪相法, to be practised in order to know the good and evil deeds of one's former existences. He gives a minute description of the way in which such "wooden wheels" ought to be made, their sizes and forms, and how they ought to be thrown (in a turning motion).

These "wooden wheels" are small sticks, about the size of a little finger, square at the centre and getting thinner towards both ends. They are called *wheels* on account of their *turning motion*, and also because the reliance upon the results of examining them breaks and destroys the heterodox opinions and the net of doubt, in which the living beings are entangled, and *turns* them towards the Correct Road.

There are three kinds of these wheel observations. The first, in which ten wheels are used, shows the differences between the good and evil deeds in former existences. The second, in which three wheels are used, shows the great and small differences between strength and weakness exhibited in times far and near in the collective deeds of previous lives. The third, in which six wheels are used, shows the differences between the retributions received in the three worlds, present, past and future.

In the *first* method one of the *ten virtuous deeds* should be written on one side of each of the ten wheels, and the *ten wicked deeds* (three of the body: killing, theft and adultery; four of the mouth: lying, boasting, abuse and ambiguous talk; and three of the mind: covetousness, malice and scepticism) should be written on the opposite side of each of the ten wheels. By throwing these wheels one may observe one's good and evil deeds in former existences.

In the *second* method the characters for *body*, *mouth* and *thought* must be written on each of the three wheels, one on each, and on the four sides of the centre of each wheel must be drawn: a coarse, long line and a thin, short line, a coarse, deep lateral cut and a thin, shallow lateral cut, one line or cut on each side. To examine the deeds of the body in previous lives one should throw the body-wheel; for those of the mouth the mouth-wheel, and for those of the thought the thought-wheel should be used. The coarse, long lines indicate the good deeds accumulated from times long past, or increase of blessings; the thin, shallow lines the good deeds of recent times, or the small good deeds. The coarse, deep cuts mean having got accustomed to evil deeds from ages long past, or increase of them; and the thin, shallow cuts mean having refrained from virtuous actions recently, or not yet increasing evil, or heavy evil having been lightened by repentance.

In the *third* method, finally, the numbers 1 till 18 should be written, one on three sides of each of the six wheels. These numbers represent the "six roots" (六根, the organs of sensation: the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and thought); the "six

atoms" (六塵), the outward perceptions: form, sound, smell, taste, feeling and character; and the six *vijñānas* or forms of knowledge(六識), forming together the 18 *vedanās* (十八種受), sensations. There are 189 kinds of observations according to this method, which are all of them enumerated by Ti-tsang. The numbers which turn up in three throws are to be added, and the result must be compared with the list of the 189 observations. The first 160 give the retributions of the present world, the next 11 indicate the retributions of the past, and the final 18 represent the retributions of the future.

Before performing these wheel divinations one ought to worship the Triratna, all the Buddhas, the "Dharma repositories" (法藏) and the sages (賢聖) of the ten quarters, and *Ti-tsang*, at the same time uttering wishes on behalf of the living beings. Further, the performer ought to make offerings to *Ti-tsang* and to invocate his name: "Namu Ti-tsang P'u-sah Mohosahto (Bodhisattva Mahāsattva)" a thousand times, and beseech him to protect the worshipper himself and all other living beings, to remove all obstacles and increase the worshipper's pure faith, etc. etc.

These elaborate prescriptions were, as we said above, probably invented by some Chinese priest, for divination by means of wooden sticks is quite Chinese. The fact that Ti-tsang was appointed by the Buddha to explain these matters, and that special worship is to be paid to him by those who wish to practise this kind of divination, clearly proves his close connection with it and his divine patronage of the divination itself and its performers.

## CHAPTER III.

## TI-TSANG AS A DEIFIED MONK.

### § 1. *His cult on Mount Kiu-hwa in olden times.*

The *Sung kao seng chw'en*[1] or "Biographies of eminent Buddhist priests of the (later) Sung dynasty (A. D. 960—1127)", compiled in A. D. 988 by TSAN-NING, 贊寧[2], gives us a typically Chinese side of the Ti-tsang cult.

We read there[3] that in the summer of the nineteenth year of the Ching yuen, 貞元, era (A. D. 803) a holy Korean prince died on Mount *Kiu-hwa*, 九華, in *Ngan-hwei* province, at an age of 99 years. This devout ascetic, whose family name was KIN, 金, was a relative of the King of Silla, one of the ancient kingdoms of Korea. European scholars who mention his cult, namely EDKINS[1] followed by YETTS and others, have

[1] 宋高僧傳, NANJŌ, nr 1495, Ch. XX, p. 9b—11a: 唐池州九華山化城寺地藏傳, "Biography (tradition) of Ti-tsang, of the T'ang dynasty, of the Hwa-ch'ing monastery on Mount Kiu-hwa in Ch'i-district (Ngan-hwei province)".

[2] NANJŌ, App. III, nr 46, p. 463.

[3] Great Jap. Tripiṭaka of Leiden, nr 1495, Ch. XX, p. 9b—11a.

[4] *Chinese Buddhism*, sec. ed., p. 265: "He is said to have become incarnate in a former Siamese prince. He is worshipped specially in the South at Kiu-hwa, near Nanking."

confused the two characters of the name *Silla*, 新羅, pronounced *Sinlo* in Chinese and *Shinra* or *Shiragi* in Japanese, with those indicating Siam, 暹羅, and declared him to be a Siamese prince.

His priest-name was TI-TSANG, exactly written like the Bodhisattva's name, and as his body was gilded and enshrined after death, he was probably called "The Golden Ti-tsang", KIN TI-TSANG. This may be the reason why later generations believed his surname to be *Kin*.

After having arrived by sea, he went afoot to Mount Kiu-hwa and ascended to its summit. There he tasted the water of a spring and thought it poisonous, whereupon he sat down erect, without thinking. Suddenly a beautiful woman (the goddess of the mountain) appeared and bowed to him, at the same time presenting him some medicine and saying: "I (litt. [your] little child) did not know (you); I wish to cause a spring to dash forth, in order to atone for my fault." After these words she disappeared, and on his left and right side fountains bubbled up. Then he understood that she was the goddess of the mountain, who had made him the valuable present of a bubbling well.

As to the mountain, LI POH, the famous poet who formed the club of the "Six Idlers of the Bamboo Bush", wandered about there in the T'ien-pao era (A. D. 742—756) and called it the "Mountain of Nine Flowers" (*Kiu-hwa*). Tradition declared the deity of this mountain to be a woman. "Its peak", says the author of the biography, "is often covered with clouds and mist, and seldom it discloses its top".

TI-TSANG, in order to obtain "sūtras of the four great classes", 四大部經, descended the mountain and went to Nan-ling, where a devout man copied them for him. Then he took them and returned to his hermitage.

In the beginning of the Tsi-teh era (A. D. 756—758) the elders of the village at the foot of the mountain visited the recluse and found him sitting in his cave dwelling, with his eyes closed. In a tripod with a broken foot there was some white earth, which he used to mix with a little rice and boil it. This was his food.

The elders were moved by these signs of a painfully ascetic life and constructed for him a dhyāna-house, which within a few years became a great sanctuary, 化城寺, Hwa-ch'ing szĕ. In the beginning of the Kien-chung era (A. D. 780—784) Chang Kung-yen, who ruled this land, out of reverence for Ti-tsang's high fame had an old tablet placed in that temple.

His fame penetrated even to his native country, and Korean people came to visit him. His miraculous power was so great, that in times of bad crops he turned earth into food for the starving population. It is no wonder that they worshipped him as a holy being.

In the summer of the 19th year of the Ching-yuen era (A. D. 803) he suddenly called his pupils and bade them farewell. Then he went away, they did not know where. But they heard the mountains resounding, the rocks rolling down, while

the beating of bells and hoarse, neighing voices increased the alarming noise. They found him sitting with his legs crossed, in which attitude he had died, after a long life of 99 years. His corpse was left in the box, in which they had found him sitting, and after three years the box was opened in order to put the body up in a dagoba. His face was exactly the same as during his life, and when they raised him, his rattling bones made a sound like that of a golden chain. Then they erected a small dagoba for him, that he might be seated there in peace and rest.

§ 2. *The same cult at the present day.*

These details, found in an ancient text from the tenth century, agree remarkably well with the facts of the present day. We learn from an interesting paper of PERCEVAL YETTS[1] on the disposal of Buddhist dead in China, that the corpses of holy ascetic priests, sitting in the Dhyāna posture, were often placed in an earthenware tub (*kang*) 缸 (or sometimes in a wooden box), which was then closed hermetically and kept in a corner of one of the temple buildings or buried. After three years the ceremony of opening the receptacle took place, and if the body proved to be undecayed, a subscription was raised for the gilding and enshrining of the relic. This was done not only in the past, but it happens even at the present day. If the deceased is not sufficiently emaciated by his severe ascetism, the viscera are taken out; otherwise this is omitted. Around the body charcoal and wadding are packed, and, according to some accounts, salt is added. Sometimes the body is even smoked! As to the gilding of the undecayed corpse YETTS says: "Before gold-leaf is applied the body is varnished, and any weak spots may be built up with a composition of clay or putty and powdered sandal-wood". The names given to these bodies are "Dried abbot", 乾和尚, or, more reverentially, "*Sien* of the carnal body", 肉身仙, or simply "*Sien*", i. e. *Rishi*, as the Buddhists use the Taoistic word *sien* to denote their own holy personages.

In the same way Ti-tsang's body was gilded and enshrined in a dagoba on the mountain, where it soon attracted crowds of pilgrims. Now and again it was said to emit light. This temple on Mount Kiu-hwa, which is one of the four principal sanctuaries of the Chinese Buddhists, is yearly visited by about 30 000 pilgrims[2]. It contains four or five so-called "dried priests", whose corpses have been prepared like that of Ti-tsang himself. The latter is seated, of course, in the main shrine, called the "Precious Hall of the Carnal Body[3]".

[1] W. PERCEVAL YETTS, Disposal of Buddhist dead in China. J. R. A. S., July 1911, pp. 699—725.

[2] YETTS, l. l., p. 710. "Mount Kiu-hwa is a group of hills in Anhui, about 30 miles due south of a small town on the River Yangtse, called Ta-t'ung, 大通, and nearly twice that distance east of the capital of the province."

[3] YETTS, ibidem.

We find the same tradition about the "Golden Ti-tsang" mentioned in the *Kiang-nan t'ung-chi*[1] or "General Memoirs concerning Kiang-nan", a work composed in A. D. 1684. We read there that his family name was KIN and that his own name was K'IAO-KIOH, 喬覺, "Lofty intelligence". His pupils buried him in the midst of Mount Kiu-hwa. From time to time he emitted a light like fire, for which reason this mountain was called "The Mountain range of the Divine Light", *Shen-kwang ling*, 神光嶺.

When reflecting upon the above facts we arrive at the conclusion that this priest was considered to be an incarnation of the Bodhisattva of the same name, and that the great number of pilgrims who from olden times visited his shrine proves the intensity of the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang's worship from the eighth century down to the present day.

## CHAPTER IV.

## TI-TSANG IN AMITĀBHA'S HEAVEN AND IN HELL, ACCORDING TO CHINESE LEGENDS.

### § 1. *Ti-tsang in Paradise* (*Sukhāvatī*).

The *T'ai-p'ing kwang ki* 太平廣記, or "Ample writings of the T'ai-p'ing era (A. D. 976—983), compiled at that time and republished about A. D. 1566, contains two interesting legends concerning Ti-tsang in Sukhāvatī and in hell.

The first (Ch. 100, 釋證二, p. 5) runs as follows. In the fifth year of the T'ien-pao era of the T'ang dynasty (i. e. A. D. 746) an official, Li Szĕ-yuen by name, died suddenly, but as his breast remained warm he was not buried. This lasted for 21 days, when at last he revived at night. He said to the inmates of his house: "Thirty Buddhist priests have accompanied me hither; therefore please prepare food for them and give them ten thousand strings of cash. As his father was a rich man, he did what his son asked and had food prepared and paper money (mock-money) cut for the thirty (imaginary) priests. The food was placed before the house, and Li Szĕ-yuen addressed the invisible priests, thanking them for their escort and inviting them to consume the food. After a while, when he supposed them to have finished their meal, he had five thousand pieces of paper money burned in the court-yard. Further, he prepared food and wine and meat for two persons and said: "By your favour I was released from hell and could return to the world of men. Therefore I am very grateful to you." After these words he again had five thousand pieces of paper money burned. Then he went to bed, and when he awoke the next morning he was the same as before.

[1] 江南通志, composed in A. D. 1684 by CHANG KIU-CHING, 張久徵, and others. Kiang-nan is the collective name of Kiang-su and Ngan-hwei provinces.

He related that he had been seized and led to a certain place, where two officials of King Yama spoke to him and to two others, who had arrived there at the same time. The two officials said that, if they paid five million cash as a bribe (bribery even in hell!), they would be released and sent back to the world of men. The two others did not answer, but he, Szĕ-yuen, promised to pay the money, much to the delight of the two officials. Then there came other officers of hell who said to the three men: "Two of you are sure to be seized", and led them to King Yama's palace, the gates of which were guarded by severe guardians. The King himself sat behind a bamboo blind and they heard him condemning a man of high rank, who stood in audience before him, because he had not done a single good deed during his life. After having heard the report of his officers about the three men, the King said: "As two of them must be seized, they have to draw lots", and he threw three pieces of silk down to them. After having opened them they saw that on those taken by the two others the characters 當使 were written, whereas the one chosen by Szĕ-yuen did not show any writing. The King, seeing the result of the lots, decided that Szĕ-yuen should be returned to the world of men, while the two others should remain in hell. Then Szĕ-yuen left Yama's palace through the eastern gate, and was led by several hundreds of Buddhist priests, carrying flags and a canopy, to *the Bodhisattva Ti-tsang's palace*, which entirely consisted of the seven precious things (*sapta ratna:* gold, silver, lapis lazuli etc.). Ti-tsang, a *priest*, clad in a magnificent sacerdotal robe, sat there on a beautiful couch. The surrounding men introduced Szĕ-yuen to him, while all the priests were reading a sūtra aloud. As Szĕ-yuen was moved to tears by this holy text, Ti-tsang praised his devotion and ordered him to relate to the people on earth what he had seen in hell, and to exhort them to improve their conduct and to become virtuous. He, Szĕ-yuen himself, henceforth also ought to lead a constantly virtuous life, in which case he should be able to return to the *Pure Land* (*Sukhāvatī*), the *Paradise* where he was at this moment. Then Ti-tsang ordered the priests to lead him back to the world of men. Thus he returned, escorted by Ti-tsang's pupils, and revived at night. The meal and the mock money, mentioned above, were presented by him to those priests and to the two officials of hell, who had caused him to be released.

After having strictly fasted and offered for seven days, however, he died again, but revived at daybreak. Now he told that he had been summoned to Ti-tsang's palace and had been scolded by him because he had not spread his knowledge about hell among mankind. Ti-tsang had even been about to beat him with his staff (the khakkhara, Ti-tsang's emblem), but when he asked forgiveness Ti-tsang had released him.

Then by severe fasting Szĕ-yuen purified himself, and all the inmates of his house took only one meal that day, abstaining from breakfast and supper. Thenceforth he always kept his promise to Ti-tsang, and whenever there were many people

assembled he spoke to them about hell in order to cause them to improve their conduct.

This interesting legend shows us Ti-tsang residing as a king in Amitābha's heaven, which is apparently supposed to be situated *east* of King Yama's palace and not very far from hell. It is strange that the "Western Paradise" was reached by Szĕ-yuen after having left Yama's palace through the *eastern* instead of through the *western* gate. Another curious fact is his being released from hell not on account of his virtues but by means of bribery, which reminds us of the Japanese proverb: "*Jigoku no sata mo kane shidai*", 地獄の沙汰も金次第, "Even the judgments of hell depend on money". As to Ti-tsang's shape, he is described here as a *priest* with a staff which apparently was his common shape. His connection with King Yama's realm is not mentioned, nor do we read about his saving the souls from hell. His residing in Amitābha's heaven, however, shows his nature of leader to this paradise in which function he is called *Indō Jizō*[1] in Japan.

### § 2. *Ti-tsang in Hell.*

The second tale, found in the same work (Ch. 100, 釋證二, p. 6), relates of a Buddhist priest of a monastery, called Shing-yeh-szĕ, 勝業寺. This monk, whose name was Ts'i-chi, 齊之, was fond of intercourse with people of high rank, which he could easily obtain by his great knowledge of medical science and all kinds of sorcery. In the fifth year of the T'ien-pao era (A. D. 746) he fell ill and died, but revived on the second day after his death. Then he left the monastery and moved to Tung-Shen-ting-szĕ[2], 東禪定寺, where he erected a magnificent chapel and, after having made seven Buddha images of a man's length, dedicated and placed them in this chapel. He entirely stopped worldly intercourse and strictly kept the commandments. This was due, said he, to his having been in the World of Darkness. The soul of a maid-servant of his former monastery before King Yama's tribunal had accused him of having killed her. This proved to be a mistake, however, as he on the contrary had in vain opposed the abbot when the latter was about to kill the woman. Then King Yama acquitted him and allowed him to return to the world of men. As to the abbot and the other monk who had slandered the maid-servant because she refused to have sexual intercourse with him, those two culprits according to Yama's officers could not yet be fetched and led before his throne, as their time had not yet come and their store of felicity was still too large.

When Ts'i-chi went out of the gate of Yama's palace, a *priest who with a horse had been standing near Yama's throne* accompanied him and said: "I am Ti-tsang, the Bodhisattva. It is a very lucky thing, that you have been acquitted. After having

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[1] 引導地藏, "Jizō who leads (to Paradise)", to be treated in Sect. III, Ch. III, § 3.
[2] "The Eastern Dhyāna monastery."

returned to the world of men you ought to keep the commandments. You must stop intercourse with people of high rank, and retire to a quiet monastery. There you must make and dedicate seven Buddha images of a man's length, and if you have not enough money, you may as well paint them". Thereupon Ts'i-chi revived and acted in agreement with Ti-tsang's exhortation.

When reflecting upon this legend we find Ti-tsang, although standing near Yama's throne, yet playing a rather passive part in hell. It is Yama who rules there as the supreme judge of the dead, and who summons them before his tribunal as far as their karma does not protect them; for against this he is powerless. Neither in this legend nor in the other the Ten Kings are mentioned, and Ti-tsang is apparently not considered to have the prominent position of "Tantra Ruler of Hell", ascribed to him in the sūtras devoted to these Ten Kings[1]. This is evidence of the absence of Taoistic as well as of Tantric influence in these legends, which therefore are sure to give the older conceptions of hell and of Ti-tsang himself. As to the *horse*, led by him in the Dark World, this may be a survival of Hayagrīva's shape, which is perhaps also the reason of the Chinese belief in the horse-headed "Father Horse"[2], who with the ox-headed "Father Ox" belongs to King Yama's well-known retainers. But also the horse-headed Kinnaras, musicians in Kuvera's service, may, as DE GROOT[3] supposes, be the prototypes of this "Father Horse". With regard to Ti-tsang leading a horse we may mention a modern Chinese painting in the possession of the Ethnographical Museum at Leiden, where in the centre of the Taoist and Buddhist deities of hell a benevolent Bodhisattva, probably Ti-tsang, is represented with a horse.

A work of later date, the *Kü-shi chw'en*[4] or "Traditions about retired scholars", relates how a devout Buddhist, who during the Wan-lih era (A. D. 1573—1619) lived in T'ai-hwo, Kiang-si province, and used to spare the life of even the smallest insects, fell ill and dreamt that he *went to hell* and there saw *Ti-tsang* P'u-sah in the "Lofty Palace of Darkness". After his recovery he "released"[5] a very large number of animals (i. e. he bought them on the market and presented them to a Buddhist temple, that they might be kept there at his expense and live in peace). On his death-bed he saw himself already in Amitābha's Pure Land and beheld this Dhyānibuddha's divine shape, as well as Kwanyin, his principal Bodhisattva.

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[1] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I.

[2] 馬爺, or 馬將軍, "General Horse", names given to him in Amoy, cf. DE GROOT, *Fêtes annuelles à Emoui*, Annales du Musée Guimet XII, Seconde Partie, p. 596.

[3] L. l., p. 596, note 2.

[4] 居士傳, written in 1775 by P'ENG TSI-TS'ING, 彭際清. The same author is mentioned by WYLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 2nd ed., pp. 214 sq.

[5] 放生, the common term for this act of devotion.

## CHAPTER V.

## HISTORY OF THE TI-TSANG CULT IN CHINA.

### § 1. *Statements of a modern Japanese author.*

One of the oldest passages about Ti-tsang's worship in China is found in the *Fah-yuen chu-lin*, 法苑珠林 (Nanjō's Catalogue, Nr. 1482), or "Pearl-grove of the garden of the Law" (a large encyclopaedia compiled in A. D. 668), if we may believe the Japanese author who in the *Tetsugaku daijisho* wrote an interesting article on *Jizō Bosatsu*[1]. This modern scholar states that according to the *Fah-yuen chu-lin* the cult of *Ti-tsang*, together with that of *Kwan-yin* (Avalokiteçvara), *Maitreya* and *Amitābha*, was widely spread among the Chinese people. I regret very much to have sought in vain in this immense work for the passage referred to by this Japanese author, who, following the detestable custom of the Chinese and Japanese (and of some European) authors, does not give the number of the chapter in which he found this valuable information. In the *T'ai-p'ing kwang ki*, the interesting work of the tenth century which contains the two legends given in the preceding chapter[2], I found a similar passage. If the *Fah-yuen chu-lin* actually contains the above statement, we may be sure that the *T'ai-p'ing kwang ki* has borrowed it from this work, as it is exactly the same. In that case the value of the words of the latter work is considerably increased. They are as follows: "From the time of the Tsin, Sung, Liang, Chin, Ts'in and Chao dynasties (the so-called Six Courts, of which only the first four are mentioned in the lists of dynasties and stated to cover the time from A. D. 265 till 589) the cases of those who were saved by invocating and reciting the names of *Kwanyin*, *Ti-tsang*, *Maitreya* and *Amitābha* were so many that they are beyond description", 自晋宋梁陳秦趙國觀音，地藏，彌勒，彌陀稱名念誦得救者不可勝紀[3].

The author wrote these words at the end of a legend concerning Kwan-yin, which so closely resembles some Jizō tales to be treated below[4] (in the section of this paper devoted to Japan), that we deem it interesting enough to be mentioned here. It runs as follows.

In the Eastern Wei dynasty (A. D. 530—549) a man called Sun King-teh, a devout believer in Buddha's doctrine, had made a wooden image of Kwan-yin and worshipped this from morning till night. Afterwards, however, he became a robber and was arrested. Then he was daily beaten with sticks and whipped, so that he could not bear the pain any longer, when one night he dreamt that a Buddhist priest came to him and advised him to recite a thousand times Kwanyin's holy name. When

[1] Pp. 1166 sqq.
[2] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. IV.
[3] *T'ai-p'ing kwang ki*, Ch. 111, 報應十, 觀音經, p. 5.
[4] Sect. III, Ch. III, § 4.

he was condemned to death and led to the place of execution, he remembered the dream and invocated Kwanyin a thousand times. And lo!, the swords were broken on his neck one after the other without wounding him in the least. This miracle was announced to the King, who acquitted him, at the advice of his Prime Minister. When the man came home, he saw that his Kwanyin image had three sword cuts; it had been his substitute and received the blows in his place! On hearing the matter, the King was filled with admiration for Kwanyin's divine power, and had the Kwanyin sūtra copied and read by the people. At the author's time this sūtra was still called after this king.

This miracle of the broken swords may have caused the Japanese tradition about Nichiren's miraculous escape from capital punishment in A. D. 1271. The image receiving the blows as a substitute for its worshipper became also a favourite subject of Japanese legends, both with regard to Kwanyin and to Jizō.

The Japanese author, mentioned above[1], also states that in the Yuen-kia era (A. D. 424—454) (Sung dynasty) Ti-tsang was much worshipped in the neighbourhood of the "Capital of Wu", i. e. Nanking. It is a pity that we do not know, which Chinese work afforded him this valuable information. He also states that HWA-SHING, 畫聖, the "Painting Sage", also called HWA-POH, 畫伯, the "Painting Senior", i. e. CHANG SENG-YIU, 張僧繇, the famous painter of the sixth century A. D.,[2] was the first to introduce Ti-tsang P'u-sah's painted image into the Chinese world of art, and that this took place in the T'ien-kien era (A. D. 502—520) of the Liang dynasty. Then, the *Sūtra on the wooden wheels*, treated above[3], although probably a Chinese work instead of having been translated from the Sanscrit, during the Sui dynasty (A. D. 589—618) may have increased the spreading of Ti-tsang's cult in the Middle Kingdom. Further, in the T'ang dynasty the sūtra on the *Ten Wheels*[4], that on *Ti-tsang's Original Vow*[5], and the Tantric *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*[6], respectively translated in A. D. 651, 695—700 and 724, caused his worship to flourish more and more. In the Ming and Ts'ing dynasties, finally, it spread all over China, and Ti-tsang became, next to Kwan-yin, the mightiest Buddhist deity of popular religion. Chinese priests as CHI-SÜH, 智旭, LING-YAO, 靈耀, and others propagated his cult by translating sūtras relating to him.

### § 2. *Ti-tsang's cult at the time of the Sui dynasty* (*A. D.* 581—618).

So far the Japanese author of the article on Jizō. Let us now look at the few passages we found in Chinese literature itself. Literature is a mirror of religion. The

[1] *Tetsugaku daijisho*, l. l.
[2] Cf. GILES, *Biographical Dictionary*, no. 99. Cf. below, this Chapter, § 3.
[3] Sect. II, Ch. II, § 2.
[4] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 3.
[5] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2.
[6] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5.

Chinese authors hardly mentioned a Bodhisattva who obtained a prominent place in Chinese Buddhism, Japanese literature, on the contrary, abounds with him. If we wanted clear evidence of the fact that Buddhism never penetrated so deeply into soul of the people in China as it did in Japan, this would be sufficient.

Speaking about the passage of the *Fah-yuen chu-lin* we called it "one of the oldest" references on Ti-tsang's worship in China, because we found an other, a little older, also in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, namely in the *Suh Kao seng chw'en*, 續高僧傳, NANJŌ, Nr. 1493, or "Supplement of the Traditions about (i. e. Biographies of) eminent Buddhist priests", written about A. D. 645—667 by the priest TAO-SÜEN, 道宣. We read there[1] that in the second year of the Jen-sheu era (A. D. 602) the Indian priest JÑATISENA, 闍提斯那, from Magadha visited the Emperor SUI-WEN and was interrogated by the Emperor as follows: "At the present day pagodas manifesting divine power, 靈塔, are erected everywhere in all departments, but especially in those of *Shen* (陝州, in the West of Honan) and *Ts'ao* (曹州, in the Southwest of Shantung) there are many felicitous omens. Who is the cause of this?" The Indian priest answered: "As to the *Shen* department, it is the Bodhisattva *Ti-tsang* of *Hien-shu*, and in *Ts'ao* department it is *Ākāçagarbha* of *Kwang-hwa*". The terms "*Hien-shu*", 現樹, and "*Kwang-hwa*", 光華, are apparently local names, denoting special cults of these two Bodhisattvas. 今造靈塔遍於諸州，曹陝二州持多祥瑞。誰所致耶。答曰，陝州現樹地藏菩薩，曹州光華虛空藏也. This passage shows their importance even in the seventh century.

### § 3. *Ti-tsang's cult in the eighth ccntury A. D.*

As to the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 618—906), the *Yiu-yang tsah tsu*, 酉陽雜徃, an interesting work of the eighth century, contains the following passage. "Of late there are among the Buddhist paintings two representing *T'ien-tsang P'u-sah* and *Ti-tsang P'u-sah*. If one sees them from a close distance and in a clear light, and looks at them attentively, (he sees that) their eyes are brilliant as if they emit light. Some say that if one prepares a colour by mixing *ts'eng -ts'ing* with *pih-yü*, the eyes (painted with this mixture), when seen from a close distance, are brilliant. Often also the eyes of priests, gods and demons on wall-paintings follow the people and move their pupils. Thus they are very correct." 近佛畫中有天藏菩薩地藏菩薩。近明諦觀之規彩鑠目若放光。或言以曾青和壁魚設色則近目有光。又往々壁畫僧及神鬼目隨人轉點眸子。極正則爾.

T'ien-tsang P'u-sah, the Bodhisattva "Receptacle (womb) of the Sky", is probably another, less correct translation of *Ākāçagarbha*, "Womb of the Space".

The famous poet LI POH, one of the "Six Idlers of the Bamboo brook" and of the "Eight Immortals of the Winecup"[2], who lived at the time of the T'ang dynasty

[1] Ch. XXXVI, pp. 6. sq.
[2] GILES, *Biogr. Dict.*, Nr. 1181.

(A. D. 700—762), praised Ti-tsang in a poem quoted in a Buddhist work of the end of the fourteenth century[1]. We read there the following . "LI POH made the following praise of Ti-tsang P'u-sah:

"The original heart (the *ātman*) is like the empty space,
It is pure, it is nothing.
If one burns away lewdness, anger and foolishness,
It is fully enlightened and appears as a Buddha.
That Ti-tsang's holy effigy, painted in five colours,
Gives insight in the truth is not a false tradition,
It wipes away like snow all diseases,
And makes the soul bright like the pure, cool sky.
Praising this sea of virtuous actions,
For ever I proclaim this to[2] far generations."

李白爲地藏菩薩贊曰。本心若虛空，清淨無一物，焚蕩淫怒癡，圓照了見佛。五色圖聖像悟眞非妄傳，掃雪萬病盡，爽然清凉天。讃此功德海，永爲曠代宣。[3]

These words would not have been written, if the belief in Ti-tsang's blessing power had not penetrated deeply into the hearts of Li Poh and his contemporaries.

In one of the chapters of the great Encyclopaedia entitled *K'in-ting ku-kin t'u-shu tsih-ch'ing*[4] many praises are found of images, mostly painted or embroidered, representing Çākyamuni, Vairocana, Bhaishajyaguru (Yoh-shi, the Medicine-Master), Amitābha, Avalokiteçvara (Kwanyin), etc. Two of these panegyrics are devoted to Ti-tsang.

In the first passage, written by LIANG SUH, 梁肅, of the *T'ang* dynasty, "Secret Books," 祕書, are quoted and an embroidery representing our Boddhisattva is mentioned. This was made on behalf of the soul of a deceased parent. "Fasting, beating one's breast and *siao siang* (小祥, the sacrifice to a parent at the end of one year)", said somebody, "is *hao* (孝, filial piety), but not *po* (報, recompense). If one considers *po* to be meritorious work (功), one must think of Ti-tsang."

The second passage, written by MUH YUEN[5], treats of an embroidery, also representing Ti-tsang, which was made and offered to the *Ngan kwoh* monastery, 安國寺, by a lady on behalf of the soul of a deceased woman. This woman then appeared to her in a dream and said that the Bodhisattva now protected her soul. This happened in the sixth year of the Ching-yuen era (A. D. 790).

[1] *Fuh-fah kin-t'ang pien*, 佛法金湯編, written in A. D. 1391 by the Buddhist priest SIN-T'AI, 心泰; Ch. VIII, p. 13 (LI POH'S biography). Another poem on Ti-tsang is found in Ch. 28 of Li Poh's collected poems.

[2] Litt. "for the sake of".

[3] The second and fourth lines rhyme (*wuh-fuh*), as well as the sixth, eighth and tenth (*chw'en, t'ien, süen*).

[4] 欽定古今圖書集成 (compiled in 1725), Sect. 神異典, Nr. 91, 佛像部藝文二, pp. 4b and 7a.

[5] 穆員.

The *Fah-yen shu-lin*, the Buddhist encyclopaedia, compiled in A. D. 668, which we mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, is quoted in the same *Ku-kin t'u-shu*[1]. It gives the following details about a Ti-tsang figure painted by CHANG SENG-YIU[2]. This painting was preserved in the *Fah-tsü* monastery, 法聚寺, situated at the wall of *Yih-cheu*, 益州 (the old name for the capital of Szĕ ch'uen). Ti-tsang was represented sitting, with his legs hanging down. In the seventh month of the second year of the Lin-teh era (A. D. 665) a monk of this monastery made a copy of this picture. This copy emitted light, which alternately appeared and was extinguished, and resembled a golden ring. All the copies made from it emitted about the same light as the original painting. The next month the Emperor sent for a copy, which was brought into the Palace and worshipped. "At present", says the author of the *Fah-yen shu-lin* (A. D. 668), "all the paintings (i. e. the copies of this picture) drawn and worshipped inside and outside the capital by priests and laymen, emit light; thus people believe and know that Buddha's power is unmeasurable".

As to the Buddhist sculptures in the caves of *Yun-kang* (near Ta-t'ong fu), *Long-men* (near Ho-nan fu) and *Kong-hien* (Ho-nan province) (from the fifth to the eighth centuries), represented in CHAVANNES's *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, Sect. II, there may be several Ti-tsang figures between those numerous Bodhisattvas. Professor CHAVANNES, however, kindly informed me that at present without inscriptions it is impossible to determine them.

### § 4. *Ti-tsang's worship from the tenth to the eighteenth century.*

The fourth year of the K'ai-pao era of the Northern Sung dynasty (A. D. 971) witnessed the erection of a "Ti-tsang temple" (*Ti-tsang szĕ*) in Hwo-nan village, 和南鄉, P'o-yang district, 鄱陽縣, in Jao-cheu-fu, 饒州府, a prefecture of Kiang-si province. We learn this from a work of the eighteenth century, the *Kiang-si t'ung-chi*[3] or "General Memoirs concerning Kiang-si", composed in the tenth year of the Yung-ching era (A. D. 1732).

The same work[4] mentions another "Ti-tsang temple" (*Ti-tsang szĕ*), situated in T'ai-hwo district, 泰和縣, Kih-ngan prefecture, 吉安府. This sanctuary was built in the Shao-shing era of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 1094—1098) and the Buddha-hall was repaired in the Ching-hwo era (A. D. 1111—1118). There was a pagoda behind this temple, in which a relic, namely a tooth of Buddha, was preserved in the author's time.

A third shrine of the same name was found in Ch'ang-ngan village, 長安鄉,

[1] Same section nr. 93, 佛像部記事二, p. 14b.
[2] The famous painter of the sixth century mentioned above, this Chapter, § 1.
[3] 江西通志, composed in 1732 by T'AO CH'ING, 陶成, and others. Ch. 113, p. 2, under the heading Jao-cheu-fu.
[4] Ch. 112, p. 5, under the heading Kih-ngan-fu.

Ch'ung-jen district, 崇仁縣, Fu-cheu prefecture, 撫州府, also in Kiang-si province[1]. This temple was erected in A. D. 1566.

Finally, a fourth Jizō sanctuary, called *Ti-tsang yuen*, 地藏院, is mentioned in the same work as existing in those days outside the Tsin-hien, 進賢, gate of Sheng-ch'ing, 省城, in Nan-ch'ang prefecture[2]. It was renewed, says the author, by the Buddhist priest Ting-hwui[3].

These passages are evidence of a flourishing Ti-tsang cult in Kiang-si province from the tenth century down to the eighteenth.

A similar work, the *Yun-nan t'ung-chi*[4] or "General Memoirs concerning Yun-nan", composed in A. D. 1691, states that there was a Ti-tsang temple (*Ti-tsang szĕ*) east of the castle of Lin-ngan-fu, 臨安府, in Yun-nan province.

The *Kwang-tung t'ung-chi*[5] or "General Memoirs concerning Kwang-tung", composed about the same time, speaks about a Ti-tsang shrine of the same name, situated in Kin-teu village, 金斗村, Ku-leu township, 古樓堡, Shun-teh prefecture, 順德府, in Kwang-tung province.

We read in the *Shan-si t'ung-chi*[6] or "General Memoirs concerning Shan-si", composed in A. D. 1682, about a very devout Buddhist priest, called YIH-TS'I, who at the time of the Ming dynasty was abbot of the *Ti-tsang ngan*, 地藏菴, or "Ti-tsang cottage" (i. e. temple or monastery) at Ta-t'ung, 大同, in the prefecture of the same name, in Shan-si province.

The other *T'ung-chi* do not speak of Ti-tsang sanctuaries, but looking on the map we see that the provinces mentioned above are situated in the Southeast, Southwest, centre, and extreme North of China, which proves that Ti-tsang's cult was spread all over the country.

One of the names, given to this Bodhisattva by the Tantric school, was *Ratnapāni* or "Treasurehand", 寶手, which name was also applied by some Japanese authors to one of the Six Jizō's[7]. We find him mentioned under this title, which indicates his being a giver of treasures to mankind, in a work of the end of the sixteenth century, the *Shan-t'ang szĕ-k'ao*[8]. We read there: "The Bodhisattva Rat-

[1] Ibidem, Ch. 112, p. 14.

[2] 南昌府, the name of the capital of Kiang-si and of the prefecture in which it is situated.

[3] Ch. 111, p. 3, under the heading Nan-ch'ang-fu.

[4] 雲南通志, composed in A. D. 1691 by WU TSZĔ-SIU, 吳自修, and others. Ch. XIX, p. 29, under the heading Lin-ngan-fu.

[5] 廣東通志, composed in the K'ang-hi era (A. D. 1662—1723) by HOH YUH-LIN, 郝玉麟, and others. Ch. XXV, p. 5, under the heading Shun-teh-fu.

[6] 山西通志, composed in A. D. 1682 by KIANG NAN-LING, 江南齡, and others. Ch. XXV, p. 15.

[7] Cf. below, sect. III, Ch. II, § 5 (the Six Jizō's).

[8] 山堂肆考, an extensive thesaurus, in 228 books, compiled by P'ENG TA-YIH, 彭大翼, who completed it in A. D. 1595. Cf. WYLIE, Notes on Chin. literature, sec. ed., p. 187. The passage referred to is found in Ch. 釋教, Nr 1, p. 7.

napāni sends innumerable flowers forth from his hands," 寶手菩薩手中出無量花. As to this designation of Kshitigarbha we may refer the reader to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, treated above[1], where a maṇḍala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas is described and our Bodhisattva is called Ratnapāni and "Holder of the Earth".

§ 5. *Ti-tsang's worship in the nineteenth century and at the present day.*

We have seen above[2], that the Ti-tsang cult on Mount Kiu-hwa in Anhwei province flourished from olden times down to the present day, and that thousands of pilgrims yearly visit this sanctuary.

EDKINS[3], who in accordance with the words of the *Yuh-li*[4] states that the birthday of Ti-tsang, i. e. the day of his special festival, is the 30th day of the seventh month, in his chapter devoted to Buddhist images and image worship mentions our Bodhisattva as follows. "The interval between the hall of the Four great kings of the Devas (in a Buddhist temple compound), and that of Shakyamuni, is occasionally occupied by another hall. Kwan-yin of the Southern sea may be seen here pictured with her usual attendants. Behind, looking northwards, is often found a scene in honour of *Ti-tsang Bodhisattva*. He is surrounded with cloud and rock carving, on the abutments of which are seen the *ten kings of hell.* They all listen to the instructions of this Bodhisattva, who seeks to save mankind from the punishments over the infliction of which they preside. The Hindoo god 'Yama' (*Yen-lo-wang*) is the fifth of them".

On another page of the same chapter[5] he says: "The other 'chapels' (*tien*, 殿) or halls are erected on the side of or behind the central structure. They are appropriated to Yo-shi Fo [i. e. Yoh-shi Fuh, the "Medicine-Master", in Japan Yakushi Nyorai, whose sanscrit name is *Bhaishajyaguru*], O-mi-to Fo [i. e. O-mi-to Fuh, *Amitābha*], *Ti-tsang p'u-sah*, and the *ten kings of hell.* Other names occur, such as the hall of the thousand Buddhas, etc., but these are the most common."

"Ti-tsang is represented by the priests as the son of a king of Siam [this is a mistake, as we stated above; the ancient texts give *Silla*, one of the kingdoms of Korea, not Siam]. He has a full round countenance of mild aspect, with a lotus-leaf crown, the usual head furniture of a Bodhisattva."

"The figures on his right and left are sometimes Muh-kien-lien (Maudgalyayana) and P'ang-kü-shi, disciples of Çākyamuni Buddha. Elsewhere Min-kung and Min-tsi take this position. The former was a Chinese who gave the land at Kiu-hwa, the hill some miles west of Nanking, on which is erected a large monastery in honour of

[1] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5.
[2] Sect. II, Ch. III, §§ 1 and 2.
[3] *Chinese Buddhism*, sec. ed. (1893), p. 209, 242.
[4] Above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 3.
[5] P. 245.
[6] L. l., p. 254.

Ti-tsang. Min-tsi is his son. Two other disciples, who act as 'servants' of the Bodhisattva (*shi-che*), are also represented by two other smaller figures".

With regard to the *Pi-yün szĕ*, a temple twelve miles west of Peking, with a hall of five hundred Lohans (Arhats), EDKINS says: "In another court are representations of the future state. Mountain scenery, clouds, bridges, lakes, as well as men and other living beings, are represented in clay. The five principal Bodhisattvas preside, and especially *Ti-tsang*. Good Buddhists are seen crossing a bridge with happy faces. Bad men are pushed by demons into a place of torture below. Various cruel punishments are represented. Everything is in carefully moulded and coloured clay. *Kwan-yin* is associated with *Ti-tsang* in presiding the side halls. Along with the three other divinities, *Wen-shu* (Mañjuçrī), *P'u-hien* (Samantabhadra) and *Ta-shi-chi* (Mahāsthānaprāpta), they preside with equal honour in the centre hall. On the coloured rock-work, the tortures of the wicked and the happiness of the good are mixed, to indicate the results of Buddhist teaching as imparted by the five divine instructors."

In the same author's description of the monasteries on the sacred island of *P'u-to*, forming, as he says, "a connecting link with the lama Buddhism of Thibet and Mongolia", we read that "on the four sides of a small pagoda stone images are placed of the four great Bodhisattvas, to each of whom one of the four elements is assigned. Ti-tsang, under whose jurisdiction hell is supposed to be, presides over *earth* (Kwan-yin over water, Samantabhadra over fire, and Mañjuçrī over air (wind)."[1]

As to *redemption*, EDKINS says the following. "Each Buddha and Bodhisattva is a redeemer. I notice here *Ti-tsang-wang p'u-sah*. He is called *Yeu-ming-kiau-chu* [i. e. *Yiu-ming Kiao-chu*, 幽冥教主], 'Teacher of the unseen world'. Full of benevolence and grace towards mankind, he opens a path for self-reformation and pardon of sins". With regard to this title of Ti-tsang we may refer the reader to our paragraph on the "*Doctrine of Repentance*"[2], where we translated it into "Tantra-ruler of the Darkness (i. e. Hades)", as the character 教 is often used to designate the sanscrit word *tantra*, and the influence of the Tantric school is evident in the Chinese works on this subject.

CHAVANNES, in his work on *T'ai-shan* quoted above[3] with regard to the Ten Kings, mentions a *Ti-tsang tien*, 地藏殿, or "Hall of Ti-tsang" on Mount T'ai. There an image of our Bodhisattva is seen of which we spoke already before, seated with crossed legs and wearing the five-pointed crown. The central point of this crown is red, the two outer ones blue, and the two others green.

With regard to another celebrated sanctuary visited by many pilgrims, the sacred island of *P'u t'o shan*, 普陀山, mainly devoted to the cult of *Kwan-yin*, we may also refer to BOERSCHMANN's very interesting work entitled *Die Baukunst und reli-*

[1] L. l., p. 265.
[2] Above, sect. II, Ch. I, § 2.
[3] Above, sect. II, Ch. I, § 2.

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In the same author's description of the monasteries on the sacred island of *P'u-to*, forming, as he says, "a connecting link with the lama Buddhism of Thibet and Mongolia", we read that "on the four sides of a small pagoda stone images are placed of the four great Bodhisattvas, to each of whom one of the four elements is assigned. Ti-tsang, under whose jurisdiction hell is supposed to be, presides over *earth* (Kwan-yin over water, Samantabhadra over fire, and Mañjuçrī over air (wind)."[1]

As to *redemption*, EDKINS says the following. "Each Buddha and Bodhisattva is a redeemer. I notice here *Ti-tsang-wang p'u-sah*. He is called *Yeu-ming-kiau-chu* [i. e. *Yiu-ming Kiao-chu*, 幽冥教主], 'Teacher of the unseen world'. Full of benevolence and grace towards mankind, he opens a path for self-reformation and pardon of sins". With regard to this title of Ti-tsang we may refer the reader to our paragraph on the "*Doctrine of Repentance*"[2], where we translated it into "Tantra-ruler of the Darkness (i. e. Hades)", as the character 教 is often used to designate the sanscrit word *tantra*, and the influence of the Tantric school is evident in the Chinese works on this subject.

CHAVANNES, in his work on *T'ai-shan* quoted above[3] with regard to the Ten Kings, mentions a *Ti-tsang tien*, 地藏殿, or "Hall of Ti-tsang" on Mount T'ai. There an image of our Bodhisattva is seen of which we spoke already before, seated with crossed legs and wearing the five-pointed crown. The central point of this crown is red, the two outer ones blue, and the two others green.

With regard to another celebrated sanctuary visited by many pilgrims, the sacred island of *P'u t'o shan*, 普陀山, mainly devoted to the cult of *Kwan-yin*, we may also refer to BOERSCHMANN's very interesting work entitled *Die Baukunst und reli-*

[1] L. l., p. 265.
[2] Above, sect. II, Ch. I, § 2.
[3] Above, sect. II, Ch. I, § 2.

*giöse Kultur der Chinesen, T. I, P'u t'o shan.* In describing the *Fah-yü-szĕ*, 法雪寺, or "Temple of the Rain of the Law"[1], BOERSCHMANN states that the eastern bell tower is dedicated to *Ti-tsang-wang p'u-sah.* Below he is seated in a glass shrine, wearing a travelling dress and carrying an almsbowl in his left hand, the khakkhara (to open the doors of hell, as the priests say, in accordance with what we have read above in the "Doctrine of Repentance"[2]) in his right. Before the shrine a small porcelain image of Kwan-yin, as the giver of children, 送子觀音, with a little child in her arms, is placed. Thus both the principal saviours of the souls from hell are worshipped together, as is very often the case in China. On the upper floor of the tower another gilded image of Ti-tsang is placed, also in a glass shrine; here he sits in meditation, with his legs crossed and his hands resting upon each other, with their palms upwards. Instead of the travelling garb he wears here a rich sacerdotal robe. As BOERSCHMANN does not mention a crown, Ti-tsang is probably represented in both images as a priest with a shaven head.

On p. 123 of the same work a *Ti-tsang Kwan-yin* is mentioned (Nr. 10, 地藏觀音), in the "Hall of the Law" of the *Fah-yü-szĕ*, wearing the five-pointed crown and a (sacerdotal) garment. He is seated in meditation, in the same attitude as the Ti-tsang of the upper floor of the tower. At his right and left side stands a little attendant, one with his hands joined in adoration, the other with his hands folded before his breast (cf. nrs 4 and 5). These two boys remind us of Jizō's two little satellites, mentioned above[3]. It is curious that this figure wears the names of the two Saviours combined; it appears to be "Kwan-yin in Ti-tsang's function", i. e. in his special quality of saviour from hell.

BOERSCHMANN devotes his fourth chapter to the religious life in the *Fah-yü-szĕ* and on the island. The third and last part of his description of a service celebrated on behalf of sailors from Amoy is interesting with regard to our subject, because it is a ceremony in honour of *Ti-tsang*[4]. It began at half past six P. M. On a square table stood a small shrine under a big, richly adorned canopy. In this shrine Ti-tsang was seated, wearing the Bodhisattva crown and accompanied by two attendants. Four lights stood on the corners of the table, and also a Bodhisattva crown lay on it. On two long tables food was placed for the hungry spirits, as well as two lights. The ceremony, which took place after long prayers, singing and kotows of the seven priests, was an imitation of Ti-tsang's saving the souls from the punishments of hell. The leading priest took the Bodhisattva crown from the table and placed it on his head. Then he sat down on a chair, which stood on a podium behind a table bearing two lights, some sacred emblems and books. Thus he represented Ti-tsang

[1] Ch. 4, p. 56.
[2] Above, sect. I, Ch. II, § 2, p. 9.
[3] Sect. I, Ch. II, § 3.
[4] P. 155.

himself, as the supreme Judge of Hell, at whose tribunal the sins of the deceased were examined, and whose great mercy saved many of them. If BOERSCHMANN did not state[1] that it was on the 15th of January, we would believe, judging by the food offerings to the spirits and the lights which showed them the way, that it was in the seventh month, when the Ullambana, the festival of the dead is celebrated, and the gates of hell are opened. Especially the evening of the thirtieth of this month, Ti-tsang's birthday[2], when hell is closed, would be appropriate for such a ceremony. Now it was probably celebrated on behalf of the souls of some deceased fishermen.

We learn from the above facts that Ti-tsang still ranks next to Kwan-yin in Buddhist worship, and that in many temples special halls or buildings are devoted to him as well as to the ten kings of hell. He is often connected with Kwan-yin, his counterpart, both being saviours of the living beings. He is represented either as a Bodhisattva, with a crown on his head, or as a priest, his ordinary shape in Japan. His images are, however, not placed along the road to protect the travellers, as it is the custom in the latter country. There he has become a prominent deity in daily life, as we shall try to show in the third section of this paper.

[1] P. 167.
[2] Cf. the *Yuh lih*, above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 3, p. 35.

## SECTION III.
# JIZŌ IN JAPAN.

### CHAPTER I.

### THE NARA PERIOD (710—794).

#### § 1. *Hōryūji.*

Although Jizō's cult was very rare in those early days, a few traces of it are to be mentioned. The oldest Jizō image of Japan is found in the *Shōryō-in*, 聖靈院, a building belonging to the famous *Hōryūji*, 法隆寺, at Nara. Tradition says that this image was presented by the King[1] of Kudara as a tribute to the Emperor Bidatsu in the sixth year of this Emperor's reign (A. D. 577), when Shōtoku Taishi was only five years old.[2] It is a standing figure of coloured sandal wood. Jizō is represented standing on a lotus, without any attribute. No halo surrounds his shaven head, but the urṇa on his forehead and his long ears are tokens of his divinity. His left hand is held before his breast, showing its open palm, while the right hand hangs down, also with its palm to the front. The attitude of the left hand is the *abhayamudrā*, "the mudrā of fearlessness", 施無畏印 ("the mudrā which distributes fearlessness"), that of the right hand is the *varadamudrā*, "the mudrā of blessings", probably translated into 施願頭印 or "mudrā which distributes the objects of desire"[3] (Fig. 10).

#### § 2. *Shōtoku Taishi.*

Shōtoku Taishi (572—621) was said to have erected a *Jizōdō* (chapel) in the compound of *Tengyō-in*, 天曉院, in Tennōji, 天王寺, a village in Settsu province. The

[1] King 聖明; this name seems to be a mistake, for the *Synchronismes chinois* by MATTHIAS TCHANG do not mention it, and give for 554—597 the name 威德王.

[2] Cf. *Kokkwa*, Nr. 156 (May 1903), p. 230; Nr. 159, p. 47. The Buddhist priest SEITAN describes this image and gives a picture of it in the *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159 (August 1903). Cf. Sect. II, Ch. I, § 1, p. 25, note 4.

[3] SEITAN calls the mudrā made by this Jizō the 唯心印, "the mudrā of answering the heart". As to the *abhayamudrā*, this is to be distinguished from the "preaching" mudrā, in which the hand is also raised with its open palm to the front, but with the top of the index and that of the thumb joined. Cf. BRANDES, Tijdschrift voor Ind. Taal, Land en Volkenkunde, Vol. XLVIII (1906), p. 56, Pl. 1; WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 337. As to the Jizō images cf. below, Ch. IV, § 7 (Jizō represented in art).


Fig. 10. Jizō of Hōryūji at Nara (6 th century), making the *abhayamudrā* with his left and the *varadamudrā* with his right hand. *Kokkwa* Nr. 159, p. 47.

author of the *Setsuyō gundan*[1], 攝陽群談, a work written in 1698, states this fact and adds that this Jizō was called *Indō Jizō*, 引導地藏, or "Jizō who leads (the souls to paradise)" or *Mitsu-kane Jizō*, 三鐘, "Three-bells Jizō", because in the author's time the bell of this chapel was rung three times when funeral processions passed it and arrived at the cemetery. The chapel was, however, probably of a much later date than that ascribed to it by the tradition.

### § 3. *Ki no moto.*

The famous *Jōshinji*, 淨信寺, a Jizō shrine in *Ki no moto* 木ノ本, a village in Ōmi province, is mentioned in several works It was erected by the Emperor Temmu (673—686) in A.D. 674 and the fame of the miraculous power, *reiken*, 靈驗, of this Jizō spread all over the country. The image was said to have been made by the Indian patriarch Nāgārjuna, 龍樹, and to have floated ashore in A. D. 673, on the coast of Naniwa (an ancient district of Settsu province, in the centre of which the present Ōsaka is situated). Every night it diffused a golden light, and Jizō himself appeared to the Emperor Temmu in a dream and said: "For the sake of all living beings I appear in different shapes and going to the six *gatis* I save the living beings from the sufferings of punishment. If men and women recite my name and worship me or paint or carve my effigy and offer this (to a temple), they shall not fall upon the three wicked roads (those of animals, pretas and beings in hell), but they shall obtain most beautiful rewards (fruits). To-day I arrived at the Naniwa coast." After this dream the Emperor ordered SOREN HŌSHI[2], 祚蓮法師, of Yakushiji, 藥師寺, to seek the image, and this priest actually found it. It was about six shaku long, and it spread a golden light. It was placed in a sanctuary, specially erected for it by order of the Emperor, which was called *Tōkakuzan Kinkōji*, 唐隔山金光寺 ("Temple of the Golden Lustre"). All the officials worshipped the image, and from all sides men and women flocked to the temple. In the third month of the next year Soren hōshi on his way to Hak'ısan passed the village of *Ki no moto*, 木ノ本, in Ōmi province. He saw a purple cloud rising over the lonely woods and hills, a sign of the

[1] "Collected tales of the South of Settsu province", written in Genroku 11 (1698) by OKADA KEISHI, 岡田徯志. Ch. XII, p. 37.

[2] In 680 this priest by order of the Emperor Temmu built Yakushiji because the Empress was ill.

holiness of the spot. When the Emperor heard this, he ordered the priest to transfer the Jizō shrine and the image from Naniwa to Ki no moto, and to call the sanctuary *Jōshinji* or "Temple of Pure Belief". In 812 Kōbō Daishi offered here a section of the *Jizōkyō* (i. e. the Sūtra on the Original Vow of Kshitigarbha, mentioned above), which he had copied especially for this purpose, and with the assistance of the Bodhisattva he killed a poisonous dragon which infested the neighbourhood and hurt the people. The Emperor Daigo (898—930) held a religious meeting here and commanded the name of the temple to be changed into *Chōkisan Jōshinji*, 長祈山淨信寺, "Temple of Long Prayers and Pure Belief". In A. D. 1335 ASHIKAGA TAKAUJI, the first Shōgun of the Ashikaga's, a very devout believer in Jizō, repeatedly sent messengers to this temple to pray for peace in the empire. The same Shōgun in A. D. 1338 had the buildings repaired and presented ricefields producing 800 koku rice to the sanctuary, which was deeply venerated also by the following Shōguns. When in 1573 a fire had destroyed the temple, TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI had a little shrine built for the image, and afterwards, when he had risen to the highest power, he erected a large temple on the spot. Such great men were among the worshippers of this Jizō. We learn these facts from the *Garan kaiki ki*[1], 伽藍開基記, or "Records of the founding of Buddhist temples", written in A. D. 1689, at which time the shrine was still in high favour. Even at the present day it is visited by many pilgrims.[2]

Another work, entitled *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki*[3], 地藏菩薩靈驗記, or "Records of the manifestations of the divine power of the Bodhisattva Jizō" (1684), relates that the Emperor Shōmu (724—748), on hearing the miraculous power of this image, twice visited the temple, and that Kashiwagi Yoshikazu in 992 prayed to this Jizō, offering a written petition to him, and that he daily visited his shrine for three years. Asai Sukemasa in 1516 prayed to this Bodhisattva that he might become the most powerful man of Ōmi, and actually succeeded in occupying half of this province, as well as three districts of Mino. All the glory of the Asai family was attributed by them to Jizō's divine assistance, and three generations, Sukemasa himself (1495 to 1546), Hisemasa, his son (1524—1573), and Nagamasa, his grandson (1545—1573), daily visited this shrine. As to Toyotomi Hideyoshi, he built the large temple, mentioned above, in 1576, because he owed his recovery from a severe disease to this Jizō, who had heard the prayers of his vassals. The latter had come to the shrine of Ki no moto to pray there for their master's recovery, as no medicine could cure him.

In 1076 the whole province of Ōmi was infested by insects which ate the young rice plants and were about to entirely destroy the crops, when the lord of Ōmi ordered

[1] Written in 1689 by the Buddhist priest DŌ-ON, 道温. Ch. VI, p. 45.

[2] Cf. YOSHIDA TŌGO'S *Geographical Dictionary*, 吉田東伍, 大日本地名辭書, *Dai Nihon chimei jisho* (1907), I, p. 567.

[3] Written by two monks of the Miidera monastery in Ōmi, called JITSU-EI, 實叡, and RYŌKWAN, 良觀. There is no preface of the authors, and the date is not known, but this edition was printed in 1684. Probably it was written about the same time. Ch. IV, pp. 25 sqq.

to deprecate the evil in all Buddhist and Shintō temples of the province. The night after the arrival of this order at Ki no moto, the abbot of Jōshinji had a divine dream, in which Jizō appeared to him and said: "Perform a goma-offering[1] and let the men and women of the village assemble and recite my invocation[2] ('Namu Jizō Daibosatsu') a million times." The abbot communicated this dream to the lord of Ōmi, who at once ordered all the men and women of the whole province to recite Jizō's holy name. Suddenly all the insects disappeared, and an abundant harvest was obtained. Again, in 1087, the Bodhisattva appeared in a dream to Kaburagi Sadatoyo, an inhabitant of Kaga province, who suddenly had become dumb and whom no physician could cure. After having stayed in the temple at Ki no moto for seven days, strictly fasting and ardently praying to Jizō, he received the divine revelation that he should be cured if he became a monk. He immediately followed the advice and remained in the temple, filled with belief in Jizō's mighty power, which actually caused him to recover at once.

A third work, the *Jizō Bosatsu ryakushū*[3], 地藏菩薩利益集, or "Collection of (tales of) divine assistance of the Bodhisattva Jizō" (1691), relates how in 1663 a picture of Jizō was obtained in this temple by a man from Tsuruga in Echizen, whose blind child could not be cured by the prayers of Buddhist priests or yamabushi, and who therefore took the boy to Ki no moto and ardently prayed to the Bodhisattva. He went home, pasted the picture to a pillar of his house and worshipped it. The next morning the child could see. The grateful father from that time made a yearly pilgrimage to Ki no moto. Two years later another child was cured from blindness after having prayed with its father in this temple for seven nights.

*Easy birth*, a blessing very often bestowed by Jizō upon his female believers, was obtained by a young woman from Sone village, Ōmi province, whose two former children had soon died and who for the third time was pregnant for thirteen months (!), suffering immensely. Her husband sent a substitute as a pilgrim to Jizō son of Ki no moto, in order to pray for an easy confinement for his wife and for a strong and healthy child. No sooner the pilgrim came home than the woman easily gave birth to a beautiful, healthy son. The parents afterwards took the child to Ki no moto, to worship the Bodhisattva and to thank him with tears. When they were spending the night in the sanctuary, Jizō appeared to both of them in their dreams and promised them a *long life* for their child, if they would practise compassion. Thus we see him described here as a giver of *easy birth*, *health* and *long life*, and in the former tales he drives away the demons of *disease* and *calamity*.

[1] 護摩, *goma*, the *homa* (Chin. *hu-mo*) offering mentioned above (Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1, p. 286), in the *Ti-tsang P'u-sah i-kwei*, a treatise of the Tantric school. It is a burning offering.

[2] 寶號, *hōgō*, "precious name".

[3] Composed in 1691 by the Buddhist priest JŌ-E, 淨慧. Ch. III, pp. 14, 21.

## § 4. *Iwafune.*

A very ancient Jizō shrine is the *Iwafune Jizōdō*, 岩船地藏堂, on the top of Mount Iwafune ("Rock-ship") in Tsuka district, Shimotsuke province. We read in the history about the founding of the temple[1], that under the reign of Kōnin Tennō, in de Hōki era (A. D. 770—780), a Buddhist priest, called *Guzeibō-Myōgwan*, 弘誓坊明願, from Hōki province, in consequence of a divine dream went to this mountain and worshipped a *living Jizō*, 生身の地藏, there. This story is told in the *Jizō Bosatsu reiken ki*[2], mentioned above. Myōgwan was a peaceful and sincere priest, who lived at Daisen, 大山, in Hōki province. For many years he had been a devout believer in Jizō and every morning at daybreak he opened the window looking out to the South and recited Jizō's holy name, with almost closed eyes and quieting his heart, in the hope that the Bodhisattva might appear. For it was his greatest wish to worship Jizō's *living shape*, 生身の御貌, instead of a picture or a wooden image which were only made by human hands. But he always looked out in vain; the Bodhisattva did not descend. Then somebody said to him: "*Hōman daibosatsu*, 寶滿大菩薩, of Mount Kamado, 竈山, in Tsukushi (Kyūshū) is said to be a manifestation[3] of Jizō. Therefore Jizō's shade is sure to appear there at daybreak of the 18th and 24th of the month, to relate his saving of living beings to the Great Bodhisattva." These words caused Myōgwan to go to Mount Kamado and to spend several nights in the temple there, praying to be allowed to worship the living Jizō. One night a stately *woman* appeared to him in a dream and, stretching her hand towards the East, spoke as follows: "If you want to worship the living Jizō, go to Mount Iwafune in Shimotsuke; there the Bodhisattva shall appear." Then she vanished. When Myōgwan arrived at the foot of Iwafune, the dusk was falling and he was hospitably received by a Buddhist priest, who lived in a lonely dwelling far from the mountain village. This man told him that Jizō was sure to appear on the top of the mountain on the 18th and 24th of the month. If Myōgwan stayed here a few days, he could worship the Bodhisattva on the 18th. During these days he observed that the priest was called Jizō bō[4], and that he assisted the people in all kinds of work. During the night he heard old men and women, knocking at the door and calling Jizō bō, whom they begged to assist them the next day in ploughing or thatching a roof or digging a well, and the good priest always consented. He saw him actually engaged in all this work during daytime. In the morning of the 18th the mysterious priest led him up the mountain and pointing to a peak he said: "That peak is Mount Iwafune. Go there, and joining your hands look up to the top of the mountain with

[1] *Engi*, 緣起.
[2] Ch. IX, p. 21.
[3] *Go suishaku*, 御垂迹, litt. "a trace dropped down" (by a deity); opp. *honchi*, 本地, the deity who manifests herself in a different shape and with a different name (her *go suishaku*).
[4] Priest Jizō.

a heart filled with devotion; then Jizō's shadow is sure to appear." After these words he vanished behind the top, and Myōgwan reverently sat down on the spot which he had indicated, joined his palms and partially closed his eyes, but carefully watched the top. After a while a golden Jizō arose from behind the top, standing upon a big rock which resembled a ship, and spreading a hundredfold light to all sides, also illumining Myōgwan himself. When the vision had disappeared, the host returned to his guest and said: "To-day your prayer has been fulfilled; now you can return to your native village." Thus they descended together, and on the way the priest in a wonderfully subtile way explained the Law to Myōgwan, whom he bade farewell at the foot of the mountain, giving him some rice for the journey. This rice proved to be divine, for one *gō* of it was sufficient to fill a big kettle when it was cooked. He distributed it to beggars and assisted starving people, and all who saw and heard it thought it a miracle. They asked for the remaining rice and wore it as amulets, convinced of its miraculous power. Thus this rice had at once become a holy relic (*shari*[1], 舍利); its grains spread light. Afterwards the mysterious priest was sought in vain on the mountain; he had vanished (he was, of course, Jizō himself).

We learn from this tale how the mountain goddess of Kamado, a Shintō deity, in ancient times was declared by the Buddhists to be a Bodhisattva, a manifestation of Jizō. She was apparently a *female* deity, like Asama, the goddess of the Fuji, for she appeared to Myōgwan in the shape of a stately woman. In the oldest stories about his original vow also Jizō himself was a woman, as we stated above (Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2). We further learn that the 18th and 24th days of the month are special days of worship in the Jizō cult. The 24th especially is a great day in this respect, as we shall see below. Many festivals of Jizō temples are celebrated on this day, and of the months the *seventh* is most frequently mentioned because it is the time of the *Ullambana*, the festival of the dead. The idea of praying to see a "living Buddha or Bodhisattva" is found even in the oldest tales, and they mostly appeared from behind a mountain top, golden figures spreading a beautiful light amidst five-coloured clouds: the morning sun rising in all its glory from behind the mountains. Especially Amida, i. e. Amitābha, the "Eternal Light", is often represented in picture, rising between two mountain tops, accompanied by his attendant Bodhisattvas, Kwannon and Seishi (Avalokiteçvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta).

Jizō manifesting himself in the shape of a human priest and assisting old people and women agrees well with the sūtras treated above, which enumerate the various shapes he assumes to convert the living beings and the numerous blessings which he bestows upon those who believe in him. As to the divine rice, used as amulets, this reminds us of the rice grains (wrapped in paper stamped with the name of the temple), brought home by pilgrims from sacred places like the top of Mount Fuji.

[1] I. e. *çarīra* (litt. body).

We do not read in this passage, when the Jizō shrine on Mount Iwafune was erected, but the early date mentioned in the story seems to indicate the great antiquity of this cult.

§ 5. *Gyōgi Bosatsu.*

Some ancient Jizō images were ascribed to GYŌGI BOSATSU, 行基菩薩 (670 to 749), the famous Korean priest, who was the first to combine Buddhism with Shintō and to preach the Ryōbu-Shintō doctrine, in order to break the resistance of the Shintōists against Buddhism. The image of *Inazumi kokubo Jizō*, 稲積國母地藏, in the temple *Tōkōji*, 東光寺, in Tōkōji village, Koma district, Kai province, was said to be the work of *Gyōgi*, who carved it when regulating the water after a great inundation in this province, and worshipped it on Shinohara no oka, where he erected a shrine for it, called *Hōjōji*, 法城寺. The image was removed to Kamijō in the Jireki era (1065—1068), by MINAMOTO NO YOSHIMITSU, 源義光, and in the Eiroku era (1558—1569) TAKEDA SHINGEN[1], 武田信玄, a very devout believer in Jizō, placed it in Tōkōji where it was still in 1814 and probably even at the present day.[2] These details are found in the *Kai-koku shi*[3], 甲斐國志, which in another passage states that ASANO NAGAMASA, 淺野長政 (1546—1610), Hideyoshi's brother-in-law, presented five bags (*tawara*) of unhulled rice (*momi*) to the Jizō shrine of Tōkōji. In 1710 YANAGIZAWA YOSHISATO, 柳澤吉里 (1687—1745), presented a hundred pieces of white silver and a large quantity of timber to this temple and had a new building erected, after having allowed the whole province to contribute money for it.

Another Jizō image, ascribed to GYŌGI, towards the close of the seventeenth century was in the possession of a certain Mori Jizaemon in Inotsu, Awa province. He had inherited it from his father, and it had been in his family from olden times. It was his *mamori honzon*, 守本尊, or guardian god, and the connection of this image with the family was so strong, that strange matters happened in his house as soon as he had lent it out to a priest of a neighbouring temple. When offerings were placed before the *butsudan* (Buddhist shrine in a private house), numberless ants appeared, nobody knew from where, and ate the offerings; and also the *meshibitsu* (a wooden vessel with a lip, used for keeping boiled rice) swarmed with ants. The same plagúe infested the temple where the image was at that time, and it did not stop before the idol was returned. Afterwards, when Jizaemon had presented it to another priest, the latter soon returned it, for night after night the so-called *makura-*

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[1] I. e. Takeda Harunobu, 晴信 (1521—1573). The Takeda family were daimyō descending from Minamoto Yoshimitsu. Harunobu shaved his head in 1551, and took the name of *Shingen*; but he continued fighting to the last.

[2] Cf. YOSHIDA TŌGO'S *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*, Vol. II, p. 2464.

[3] "Annals of the Province of Kai", written in 1814 by MATSUDAIRA SADAYOSHI, 松平定能. Ch. XLIV, 古蹟部, Nr. 7, p. 1.

*kaeshi*[1], 枕返, or "turning the pillow" prevented him from sleeping, his pillow being turned and moved by a mysterious power. Jizō ordered him in dreams to restore his image to Jizaemon's house, and no offerings or prayers could soothe the Bodhisattva's anger; on the contrary, a host of ants again appeared in the houses of Jizaemon and the priest, till the image was back in its old home.[2]

An earthen Jizō made by GYŌGI is mentioned in the *Kyō-warabe*[3], 京童, a work of the seventeenth century. This image was called *Hara-obi* (腹帶) *no Jizō*, because it was believed to give *easy birth* to pregnant women. The latter wore a *hara-obi* or belly-band when praying to this Jizō as well as ordinarily during her pregnancy.

A third work of the seventeenth century, the *Setsuyō gundan*, mentioned above[4], tells us that the principal idol of the Jizō-dō (chapel) at Anryūmachi, Sumiyoshi district, Settsu province was a stone Jizō made by GYŌGI BOSATSU. The people called this image *Kubikire Jizō*, 首截地藏, or "Jizō whose head was cut off", because the priest Junrei, 順禮, when being attacked by robbers at night, was assisted and saved by this Jizō. The next morning he saw that the head of the image lay on the ground and that its blood had flown (we often read about "living images" which bled when being wounded).[5]

These images, worshipped in the seventeenth century, were, of course, ascribed to GYŌGI only because they were very old and because the believers liked to connect with them a holy name from the remotest antiquity. The founder of Ryōbu Shintō may actually have propagated the Jizō cult, which in the seventh century flourished in China. As to the Jizō shrine which he was said to have erected in Kai province, we may mention a curious passage from the *Nihon shokoku fūdoki*[6], 日本諸國風土記, or "Records of customs and geography of all the provinces of Japan", according to which the Gyōmanji temple, 行滿寺, in Tsuru district, Kai province, was the place where ILLA, 日羅, a Korean from Pèkche, 百濟 (Kudara), practised the doctrine of *Shōgun Jizō* in the 14th year of the reign of the Emperor Bidatsu (A. D. 585). This Illa is mentioned in the *Nihongi*[7], which states that he was summoned to Japan by the Emperor in order to give advice with regard to Korean politics, and that he was killed in Japan by his own followers. We shall treat of this passage below with respect to Shōgun Jizō, but we thought it interesting to compare it here with

[1] The pillow is turned in such a way, that in the morning one finds himself lying in an opposite direction from that in which he lay down in the evening.

[2] *Kwōsekishū*, 礦石集, written in 1692 by the Shingon priest MUJINZŌ, 無盡藏. Ch. II, p. 4.

[3] Written by NAKAYAMA KIUN, 中山喜雲, and printed in 1658; quoted in the *Kinsei bungei sōsho*, 近世文藝叢書, printed in 1910 by the *Kokusho kankō kwai*, 國書刊行會. Ch. I, p. 296.

[4] Sect. III, Ch. I, § 2, p. 66.

[5] Ch. XIII, p. 27.

[6] Quoted by SEITAN, *Kokkwa* Nr. 160, p. 66.

[7] Ch. XX, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. I, p. 354 (A. D. 583); ASTON'S translation, Vol. II, pp. 97 sqq.

the other tradition about an ancient Jizō cult in Kai province. It seems that the Bodhisattva's worship was introduced into this province at a rather early date, which fact was exaggerated afterwards by the fervent believers of the sixteenth century, when his cult appears to have greatly flourished in this part of the country. They even pretended that the small image of the Jizō temple in Jizōdō village, Yatsushiro district, was one of the three Jizō images, made by MONONOBE MORIYA, 物部守屋, who in A. D. 587 was killed in the battle at Mount Shigisen against the army of the Soga family. He was said to have made these images under the reign of the Empress Suiko (A. D. 593—628), i. e. after his death![1]. The absurdity of this tradition is clear not only from the incorrectness of the date, but especially from the fact that Moriya was the strong adversary of Buddhism, whose fall enabled the Soga's to propagate this foreign doctrine. Such false traditions were probably based, however, upon the comparative antiquity of Jizō's cult in this province.

§ 6. *The ancient books.*

We must acknowledge that none of the Jizō images and sanctuaries, treated in this chapter, are mentioned in the Kojiki, Nihongi, Shoku Nihongi, Nihon kōki and the other ancient annals of Japan. The *Fusō ryakki* (about A. D. 1150) is the first historical work in which we found Jizō's name. The ancient "*Fūdoki*", like the Bungo fūdoki, Izumo fūdoki etc. (the Nihon shokoku fūdoki is apparently a counterfeit of later date), the Ryō-i-ki, the Zenka hiki and the Engishiki are all silent with regard to this subject, as well as the "*monogatari*", like the Utsubo, Genji, Konjaku and Eigwa monogatari. This is strong evidence of Jizō's obscurity until the twelfth century of our age. Yet the names of Kōbō Daishi and Jikaku Daishi are connected with several ancient Jizō sanctuaries, as we shall see in the next chapter.

[1] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXVI, 佛寺部, Nr. 4, p. 7.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE HEIAN PERIOD (794—858).

### § 1. *Mibu-dera.*

The celebrated Jizō temple in Mibu, 壬生, in the South of the Shijō, 四條, district of Kyōto, called *Mibu-dera*, 壬生寺, or *Hōdōji*, 寶幢寺 ("Temple of the Precious Streamer") or *Shinjōkwō-in*, 心淨光院 ("Temple of the Pure Light of the Heart"), perhaps dates from this time. We read in the *Garan kaiki ki* (1689)[1], mentioned above, that it was unknown, when this shrine was erected, but that there was an image of KANSHIN RISSHI, 鑑眞律師 (687—763) in the hall, which caused the author of the work to think that this priest might have established the temple. KANSHIN was a Chinese bonze who in A. D. 754 arrived in Japan and founded the *Ritsu* or *Kairitsu* (i. e. Vinaya) sect. He erected so-called *Kaidan* or Vinaya-altars, but we do not read of temples founded by him. The first date fixed by the author of the *Garan kaiki ki* is the Shōryaku era (A. D. 990—994), at the time of the Emperor Ichijō, when Bishop KWAIKEN, 快賢僧都, Kwaiken Sōzu, became abbot of this temple. We learn from the same passage, that at the author's time (1689) a yearly festival was celebrated in this sanctuary, which lasted from the 14th to the 24th day of the 3rd month. At these occasions theatrical performances were given, representing King Emma, the King of Hell, punishing the sinners, or Jizō Son saving the living beings. This was done to lead upon the right path those among the thousands of visitors, men and women, old and young, who did not yet believe in Jizō's powerful compassion.

The *Jizō Bosatsu reiken ki* (1684)[2], quoted above[3], relates how in the Kenkyū era (A. D. 1190—1198) Taira no Toshihira, 俊平, a warrior, worshipped Jizō in this temple. In spite of wind or rain, cold or heat he carried out his great vow of passing two thousand nights in the shrine. During the last of these nights he dreamt that a priest, clad in a black robe, appeared from behind the curtain hanging before the

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[1] Ch. IV, p. 29.
[2] Ch. XIV, p. 3.
[3] Sect. III, Ch. I, § 3, p. 67.

image, and presented him with a linen bag of white rice *(hakumai*, 白米*)*. He considered this dream to be a sign of Jizō's high favour and went home rejoiced. At that time the Shōgun of Kamakura, the famous YORITOMO, suspected Toshihira of some rebellious plot and despatched soldiers to arrest him and to take him to Kamakura. This was done and Yoritomo was about to condemn him to death, when a priest in a black garment appeared to him in a dream and in a loud and threatening voice forbade him to kill Toshihira. The priest said that he lived in Mibu-dera at Kyōto and that he was well-known to Toshihira, whom he could ask about him. The next day Yoritomo summoned Toshihira and asked him about the matter, whereupon the latter told him how he had passed two thousand nights in Mibu-dera and how a priest in a black robe had given him a bag of white rice. This made such an impression upon Yoritomo, who understood that the priest was the Bodhisattva himself, that he at once acquitted Toshihira. Yoritomo had a devout belief in Jizō, as we shall see below. Whoever heard the story was convinced that the Bodhisattva's divine assistance had saved Toshihira's life, and his worship spread all the more.

The *Taiheiki*[1], 太平記, relates how in A. D. 1340 Jizō of Mibu saved the life of one of Nitta Yoshisuke's rebels by delivering himself into the hands of the soldiers as a substitute for the man who had taken refuge into his temple. The Bodhisattva assumed the shape of a priest and gave him his rosary in exchange of his sword. When the soldiers came they saw the man, with a rosary in his hands and reading a sūtra, but outside they found the priest with the bloody sword, bound him and threw him into prison. But the next morning the priest had disappeared and a divine odour was evidence of a deity having been there instead of a mortal. When the Jizō shrine was opened, they saw that the image was bound with ropes, and filled with repentance they became monks at once.

The *Jizō Bosatsu riyaku shū*[2] (1691) tells us how Jizō of Mibu protected his worshippers against fire, by warning them in dreams against it, so that they were able to extinguish it in time.

The *Mibu-dera engi*, 壬生寺縁起, or "History of the founding of the Mibu temple"[3], which states that in A. D. 1005 the principal idol of this shrine, a Jizō image, was erected (apparently in the place of an older one), gives a story about Jizō's merciful assistance of a poor maid-servant in Kyōto, who always ardently worshipped him. One night she had to sew a silken cloth for a newly born baby *(ubugi)*, which her master intended to present to his relatives the next day. She zealously worked till deep in the night, but when it was ready she burned the silk while ironing it. In despair she prayed to Jizō for help. Although it was very cold she scooped water from the well and after having cleaned herself (in a religious sense, *mizugori*, 水垢離)

[1] Written about A. D. 1382; Ch. XXIV, p. 14.
[2] Ch. I, p. 9.
[3] An old book, explained and edited in Genroku 15 (1702). Ch. 下, p. 17.

she turned her face to Mibu and worshipped Jizō, praying to him with all her heart, till she was nearly dead with cold and weariness. The next morning, when her master came and asked her about the cloth, she trembled with fear and looked at the fatal spot. But behold, the silk was more beautiful than ever, and not a single trace of the incident was to be seen. Her master thanked and praised her, but she herself thanked Jizō for his divine assistance, and from that moment adored him more than ever.

We further read in this work[1] that *sand* from the compound of the *Mibu* temple from olden times was believed to be an excellent *mamori* (charm) for obtaining *easy birth*, after incantations *(kaji)* had been made over it. If a woman applied it to her body, she was sure to have an easy birth, and after her delivery she brought the sand back to the temple. A woman who had suffered for three days without being able to give birth to her child, suddenly felt better and was delivered of a healthy babe when keeping in her hand some sand from Mibu which had been sent for in the meanwhile.

### § 2. *Kōbō Daishi.*

Several ancient Jizō images were attributed to KŌBŌ DAISHI (774—835), who in 806 introduced the Yoga doctrine into Japan under the name of *Shingon* or "True Words" *(Mantras, tantras)*, after having studied in China for two years. Three of the Six Jizō's of Mount Kōya, Kōbō's holy mountain in Kii province, were said to be his work: that of *Ke-ō-in*, 花王院, *Jūrin-in*, 十輪院, and *Yama no dō*, 山の堂. The Jizō of Ke-ō-in was called *Kotsumi* (木積) *no Jizō* or "Jizō who piled up the wood", because he had cut wood and piled it up on behalf of the old woman in whose house he stood. She was ill and could not follow the command of the chief of the village, who in A. D. 1270 ordered the villagers to cut wood for making salt at the foot of Mount Katsuragi. She complained that the wooden Jizō image, to which she used to make offerings in the morning and at night, did not cut the wood for her. Then she fell asleep and in her dream saw a small priest go out of the house and return after a while. "Old mother", said he, "I have done the work for you." When she awoke, she actually saw the firewood piled up as high as the roof, and the hands and feet of the image were covered with mud, a sign that it had acted as her substitute.[2]

The Jizō of *Jūrin-in* (the name of this temple was apparently derived from the Sūtra on the Ten Wheels, mentioned above[3]) appeared in the shape of a small priest at the bed of the abbot when thieves were about to kill him, and saved the priest by terrifying the thieves. Another time the abbot ordered the servant of the temple to rake away the snow in the garden early in the morning, because Jizō every morning rose early and went out to save the living beings; thus the snow had to be swept

[1] Ch. 下, p. 20.
[2] *Kwōsekishū* (1692), Ch. I, p. 2a.
[3] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 3, p. 13.

away beforehand. The servant obeyed, but one day he uttered the wish that Jizō might for once do the work himself. And behold, the next morning there was no snow in the garden, and the snowy footprints on the verandah of the Jizō hall leading into the innermost of the room where the image stood were clear evidence of the fact that Jizō himself had raked away the snow. Hence the Bodhisattva was called *Yuki-kaki* (雪掻) *Jizō*, "the Snow-raking Jizō".[1]

As to the Jizō of the *Yama no dō*, a poor priest, who passed night after night in this chapel and prayed to become rich, dreamt that Jizō Bosatsu gave him a "Pearl which grants all desires".[2] And he became rich, but at the same time wicked and extravagant. Then Jizō again appeared to him in a dream and took back the precious pearl, whereupon he became poor like before. This caused repentance and wisdom to arise in his heart, and finally his fame spread far and wide.[3]

The *Kōya no shiori*[4], 高野のしをり, or "Guide of Kōya" mentions three other Jizō's on this mountain. One of them, called *Indō Jizō*, 引導地藏, or "Jizō who leads (the souls to Paradise)", was made by Kōbō Daishi, that Jizō might lead the living beings after their death to the Pure Land (Sukhāvatī). When Kōbō died, this image rolled its pupils with sorrow. Even at the present time all funeral processions on Kōya-san stop before this idol and pray to Jizō to lead the dead to the Pure Land; then they continue their way to the burial place. The two other Jizō's are called *Kazutori* (數取) *Jizō* or "Counting Jizō", because he counts the times the believers visit the Inner shrine (Oku-in) and thereby judges the degree of their belief[5], and *Dokumi* (毒見) *Jizō* or *Ambai-mi* (鹽梅味) *no Jizō*, i. e. "Jizō who tastes the food whether it is not poisonous", because he is said to daily test the offerings brought to the ancestral hall.[6]

Kōbō Daishi was also said to have made the Jizō image of *Tokuṣeiji*, 德成寺, in Sumiyoshi district, Awa province. When in the Eiroku era (1558—1569) the priest of this temple was ordered by the governor of the province to bring a letter to Kyōto, he laid the letter-box (fumi-bako) before the image and supplicated Jizō to assist him, as the very bad condition of the mountain roads and the roughness of the sea as well as the busy time (it was towards the close of the year) made the order extremely difficult to be fulfilled. After this prayer he felt asleep. How great was his astonishment, when the next morning another letter, the answer from Kyōto, was in the box instead of that of the governor. This was the work of Jizō, and with a heart filled with gratitude and admiration for the Bodhisattva's power the priest took the letter to his lord. The same night a priest had arrived in Kyōto at the house

[1] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. I, p. 2.
[2] *Nyo-i hōju*, 如意寶珠, cintāmaṇi.
[3] *Kwōsekishū*, l. c.
[4] Written in 1895 by IMURA MAKOTO, 井村眞琴; p. 68.
[5] L. c., p. 75.
[6] L. c., p. 85.

of Miyoshi Nagatoshi, to whom the letter was addressed, and after having delivered the letter had departed with the answer! This priest was Jizō himself![1]

Two other Jizō images, ascribed to Kōbō, were found in the same province of Awa. That of *Mujinsan Jizōji*, 無盡山地藏寺, in the village of Yatake, 矢武, was a very small idol, only one *sun* eight *bu* in length. The great Shintō god of Kumano in the shape of an old man appeared to Kōbō and gave him a sacred piece of wood, that he might carve an image and place it on this spot. For both the wood and the spot were filled with *rei* (靈, Chin. *ling*, power of manifestation), so that they should give peace to the realm and felicity to the people. Then Kūkai made a Jizō image and erected a temple for it on that very spot. As the divine power of this idol was manifest by its fulfilling all prayers offered up to it, great crowds of pilgrims flocked to the temple. Afterwards the abbot of the shrine, Jōyū, 定宥, by name, in consequence of a divine revelation in a dream made a larger Jizō image and placed the small one in its chest.[2] He also made images of Amida and Yakushi Nyorai, and erected shrines of the Great Shintō gods of Kumano and Ise whom he appointed patron deities of the Buddhist temple. This story is an interesting specimen of the clever way in which the Buddhist priests blended Shintōism with their own doctrine.[3]

*Rikkōji*, 立江寺, in Awa province, also called *Jizō-in*, 地藏院, was said to have been built by order of the Emperor Shōmu (A. D. 724—749), who had a Jizō image made to pray to it, that the Crownprincess might have an *easy birth*. This image was called *Koyasu* (子安) *no Jizō* or "Easy birth Jizō". Afterwards Kōbō Daishi visited the shrine and made a bigger image, which became the principal idol of the temple.[4]

We read the following in the *engi* or history of the erection of *Kōfukusan Chōdenji*, 光福山朝田寺, in Chōdenji village, Iitaka district, Ise province. In olden times there lived in this village a rich man, Renkō by name, who for many years had been a devout believer in Jizō Bosatsu, but to his great regret had neither a wooden image nor a picture of the Bodhisattva. On the 24th day of the 7th month (a day especially sacred to Jizō, as we remarked above[5]) of A. D. 770 he saw a divine red light in the direction of Kamikawa village. He went there and discovered that the light came from a withered tree floating on the water and carried by the tide to Kawakami bridge. As he considered it to be a sacredtree, he had it brought to his house and placed in a Buddhist domestic chapel, where he worshipped it. Afterwards, in the third month of A. D. 796, Kōbō Daishi on his way to the Great Shrine of Ise, visited Renkō and saw the withered tree. He carved it into a Jizō image, but when he had finished the upper part of its body and began to carve its loins and legs, the idol bled heavily. "It is a living Bodhisattva," exclaimed the Daishi with fright,

[1] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. I, p. 1 b.
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[5] Sect. III, Ch. I, § 4, p. 70.

and immediately stopped carving. For this reason its lower part was, even in the seventeenth century, an old withered piece of wood, with oystershells sticking to it.[1]

One of the oldest Jizō images of Japan is the so-called *Umoregi* (埋木, i. e. wood buried in the earth) *Jizō*, so named because it was dug out of the earth (Fig. 11). This is the idol of *Jūrin-in*, 十輪院, the "Temple of the Ten Wheels"[2], a little chapel belonging to *Kwōryūji*, 廣隆寺, a large Buddhist temple in Uzumasa, Kyōto. This image is represented in the *Kokkwa*[3], where its history, dating from A. D. 1230, is quoted. The traditions of the temple as well as the *Miyako meisho zue*[4], 都名所圖會, or "Pictures of famous places in the Capital" ascribe it to Kōbō Daishi. It carries the precious pearl in its left hand, while the right one hangs down with the open palm in front. This is according to the Japanese text the *abhayamudrā*, and both attribute and *mudrā* are common to the ancient Jizō images ascribed to Kōbō. Also SEITAN (*Kokkwa* Nr. 159, p. 46) calls it a second form of the *abhayamudrā*, but in my opinion it is the *varadamudrā*, in which the hand is held down instead of being raised. Further, its style seems to indicate that at any rate it does not belong to a period later than the Fujiwara time (from the middle of the ninth to the last quarter of the eleventh century).

[1] *Seiyō zakki*, 勢陽雜記, "Miscellaneous records on Ise province", Vol. V, p. 54. A manuscript written by YAMANAKA HYŌSUKE, 山中兵助, in A. D. 1656.

[2] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 2, p. 76.

[3] Nr. 156, p. 230 (the Japanese text; there are mistakes in the English text).

[4] Written in 1786 by AKISATO RITŌ, 秋里離島.



Fig. 11. Umoregi Jizō of Jūrin-in, in Kwōryūji at Kyōto (9th cent.), with pearl and varadamudrā). Kokkwa Nr. 156, Pl. VII.

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[4] Written in 1786 by AKISATO RITŌ, 秋里離島.



Fig. 11. Umoregi Jizō of Jūrin-in, in Kwōryūji at Kyōto (9th cent.), with pearl and varadamudrā). Kokkwa Nr. 156, Pl. VII.

We read in the history of this image, mentioned above, that it was discovered in a hollow Bodhi tree in the wood, which gave forth a strange sound when struck and emitted a brilliant light on the ten fast-days.[1] As the people considered it the work of foxes or tanuki[2], a woodcutter cut the tree and found the image, which was something more than three *shaku* long. The axe having hit its abdomen and elbow, the woodcutter prostrated himself on the ground and asked forgiveness for his evil deed. His fright changed into joy, however, when the Bodhisattva appeared to him in a dream and praised him for having caused the image to appear, because he, the Bodhisattva, had come into this world to save the living beings (instead of being hidden). Thus he mended the idol, which had a majestic and beautiful face, and placed it in a special chapel, called *Jūrin-in*, at the rear of Kwōryūji. The fame of its divine power soon spread and attracted large crowds of pilgrims, till it suddenly disappeared in A. D. 1150, eleven days before a big fire destroyed the whole Kwōryū temple. In the next five years the sound of wood-cutting was heard in the South-west, and a brilliant light shone over the woods at night. At last a man who was gathering fuel heard a voice calling from under the earth, and began to dig on the spot till he found the image. He carried it home and worshipped it, but it was not repaired before Jizō had in dreams admonished the monk who had placed it in a shrine, to heal his painful wounds. When this monk in A. D. 1179 sent it to a maker of Buddhist images, a priest of Kwōryūji heard this and bought it. Thus it returned to its former sanctuary, where it is still at the present day. A man, who in A. D. 1221 had stolen it, brought it back two years later. He came at night and left it at the eastern gate of Kwōryūji, with a wooden placard on which he had written the following words: "I wished to make this image my chief idol, but in a dream it said to me: 'Take me back to the Kwōryū temple, for I have made a strong vow to live there.' For this reason I present the image to this temple."

The Jizō image of *Emmyōji*, 延命寺, in Konishimi (小西見) village, Nishikibe (錦部) district, Kawachi province, a stone idol ascribed to Kōbō Daishi, was famous for giving easy birth and for curing the sick. This Jizō severely punished sacrilege, for a man who had eaten some of the fishes *(funa)* of the little pond in the temple compound, soon after suffered from leprosy which caused his death. The name *Emmyōji* seems to indicate that this was an *Emmyō Jizō*, a "Lengthener of Life", but if this was the case, the image dated from the 17th century instead of from the

[1] 十齋日, *jū saijitsu:* the following days of the month: 1, 8, 14, 15, 18, 23, 24, 28, 29 and 30. These days are mentioned in the Sūtra on the Original Vow of Kshitigarbha and in that on the Ten Kings, as the days on which the officials of Hades (五道ノ冥官, *godō no meikwan*) fix the degrees of punishment of the dead. Therefore they are days of *saikai* (齋戒, religious purification by abstaining from certain articles of food and from all uncleanliness), *shōjin* (精進, religious purification: abstaining from animal food) or of reading sūtras.

[2] Cf. my paper on the Fox and the Badger in Japanese folklore, Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXVI, Part. III.

ninth, for the *Emmyō Jizō sūtra* which gave rise to the cult of *Emmyō Jizō* was probably written in the 17th century. The name of "Emmyōji" may then have been given, however, to an old shrine — for temple names were often changed — and also the image may have been much older than the name "Emmyō" suggests.[1] Yet its antiquity was probably much exaggerated, like in the case of the seven mirrors, *shintai* or "god-bodies" of the Shintō god Sannō (Ōkuninushi, Hiyoshi) of *Sannōsha*, 山王社, in Saikachi (西海地) village, Ōsumi (大住) district, Sagami province. Tradition said that these mirrors were presented by a Buddhist[2], clad in white, to Kōbō Daishi during his stay in China. After his return to Japan, Kōbō was said to have made them the *shintai* of a Shintō temple which he erected (!) and called *Sannōsha*. This was said to have happened in the Daidō era (806—809). We would be very sceptic with regard to this strange story even if the mirrors themselves did not deny it. But we need not discuss their probable age, for on one of them we read the following inscription: "Petitioner: Kakuju-maru, 願主鶴壽丸. On a lucky day in the beginning of summer (4th month) of the 4th year of Kyōroku (1531)." This "petitioner", who in offering up his prayer presented a work of his own hand (Kakuju-maru is apparently an artist's name), represented a Jizō figure, sitting with crossed legs on a lotus and keeping a pearl in his left, a khakkhara in his right hand, on the back of the mirror. Later generations connected Kōbō Daishi's name with these offerings and declared them to be Sannō's *shintai*![3]

In the same province the principal idol of a Jizō shrine in Nishi koiso (西小磯) village was said to have been the *jinembutsu*, 持念佛, or private Buddhist tutelary deity of Tora, Soga Sukenari's concubine, who in A. D. 1193 killed herself after the heroic death of the two brothers. In this image another, much smaller Jizō idol was hidden[4], which was attributed to Kōbō Daishi and which had been Soga Sukenari's *jinembutsu*.[5]

*Aburakake* (油懸) *Jizō* or "Greasy Jizō", in Andōji machi, 安堂寺町, in the centre of Ōsaka, was pretended to be Kōbō's work. This image was called so because if those who suffered from intermittent fever smeared it with oil and prayed to it, they were sure to recover.[6]

If we may believe the author of the *Genkō Shakusho*[7], 元亨釋書, Kōbō practised

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[1] *Kwōsekishū* (1692), Ch. II, p. 2.
[2] 道人, a Chinese term; 道士 is a Taoist doctor.
[3] *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō*, 新編相摸風土記稿, or "Sketch of a new description of customs and land of Sagami province", written in 1841 by MASHA SHISHIN, 間宮士信, and 26 others. Ch. XLVII, Ōsumi district, sect. 6, p. 10.
[4] 腹籠, *haragomori*, "hidden in the belly" (*haragomori no ko* is a foetus), often used in the sense of a small image being hidden in a larger one.
[5] *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō*, Ch. XLI, Yuruki district, sect. 3, p. 31.
[6] *Setsuyō gundan* (1698), Ch. XII, p. 53.
[7] Written before A. D. 1346 by the Buddhist priest SHIREN, 師錬, *Kokushi taikei* Vol. XIV, Ch. IX, p. 782.

a mystic Jizō doctrine, which he called "Jizō's rule", 地藏軌, or "Method of breaking the hells", 破地獄法. The name "Jizō's rule" at once reminds us of the *Ti-tsang P'u-sah i-kwei*, 地藏菩薩義軌, the Tantric treatise mentioned above[1], where the Bodhisattva himself gave mantras and prescribed the way of making his effigy and performing the *homa* (Jap. *goma*) offerings. The Buddhist priest CHISEN, 智泉, a nephew of Kōbō, deeply deplored his mother's death and for three years continually prayed to all the Buddhas that they might let him know his mother's fate after death. Then a deity in a dream revealed to him that she had fallen into hell. Chisen, filled with sorrow, asked Kōbō Daishi how he could save her from hell, whereupon Kōbō taught him the Jizō doctrine, 地藏法, i. e. the "Jizō rule". After he had ardently practised this doctrine, one night his mother appeared to him in a dream, clad in a beautiful garment, and told him that she had been saved by his practising the Jizō rule, and that she was now to be reborn in heaven.

### § 3. *Dengyō and Jikaku Daishi.*

Whereas the *Shingon* sect was represented by Kōbō Daishi, the principal figures of the *Tendai* sect were its founder, DENGYŌ DAISHI, 傳教大師, and his eminent pupil JIKAKU DAISHI, 慈覺大師. The former, whose priest name was SAICHŌ, 最澄 (A. D. 767—822), visited China in A. D. 802 and returned in A. D. 805. He founded the Tendai sect, called after the T'ien-t'ai mountain in the Chinese province Cheh-kiang, which formed the centre of this doctrine in China. Enryaku-ji, which he had built on Hieizan in A. D. 788, became the centre of the Tendai sect in Japan. His famous pupil ENNIN, 圓仁 (A. D. 794—864), whose posthumous title is JIKAKU DAISHI, in 838 accompanied the Japanese ambassador Fujiwara no Tsunetsugu to China and stayed there for nine years, visiting famous Buddhist temples and copying many texts, which he afterwards published in Japan. The names of these two men being repeatedly connected with Jizō images and sanctuaries, we may conclude from this that the Jizō cult was propagated in Japan by the *Tendai* as well as by the *Shingon* sect. The former sect preached the exoteric, the letter the esoteric doctrine.

The *Jizō Bosatsu riyakushū* (1691)[2] mentions a standing image of Jizō, ascribed to DENGYŌ DAISHI, which in the Genroku era (1688—1703) stood in a private house in Muromachi, Kyōto. This Jizō gave *easy birth* to the women who worshipped him and saved them from an untimely death in child-bed.

The Jizō temple at *Suzuka no Seki*, 鈴鎌の關, in Ise province, was said to be erected by Dengyō Daishi. This sanctuary, one of the famous places of the Tōkaidō, was consumed by fire in A. D. 1260, but was rebuilt in the Bummei era (1469—1486);

[1] Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1, p. 44 sqq.
[2] Ch. IV, p. 33.

the eyes of the image were opened by the celebrated Rinzai priest IKKYŪ OSHŌ[1], 一休和尚, which shows that the shrine at that time belonged to the Rinzai branch of the Zen sect. Afterwards it was burnt down again; its rebuilding took place in A. D. 1696.[2]

The image of *Hōyake* (頰燒) *no Jizō* or "Jizō who burned his cheeks", in the compound of *Seshū-in*, 專修院, in Tanimachi, 谷町, Ōsaka, where it stood in a chapel at the end of the 17th century, was said to have suffered in hell as a *substitute* for a woman, who in this way escaped the terrible punishment of the *yakekane*, 燒鐵, or "burning irons". This image, was a *reibutsu*, 靈佛, i. e. an idol which by much *ling*, 靈 (manifestation of vital power), showed its divinity by hearing the prayers of its worshippers and performing miracles. This image was said to be the work of Jikaku Daishi. When YORITOMO went to Kyōto, he expressed his gratitude to this Jizō for his wonderful protection.[3]

Jikaku Daishi was also mentioned as the founder of *Daisenji*, 大山寺, a Jizō shrine on the sacred mountain Ōyama, 大山, in Hōki province. We learn this from YOSHIDA TŌGO'S *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*[4], where the *Genkō Shakusho* is quoted, which declared the Shintō god of this mountain to be a manifestation of Jizō. The *Garan kaiki ki*[5], however, says that this temple was built by order of the Emperor Shōtoku (A. D. 765—770) and that the fame of its great divinity was still prevalent in the author's days (A. D. 1689). Shōtoku was said to have issued this order, because he had heard about a miracle wrought by a private Jizō image in the possession of a certain Toshikata, who lived at the foot of Mount Ōyama and who had a strong belief in Jizō. One day, when he came home after having shot a stag in the mountains, and was about to worship Jizō, he was much frightened by seeing his arrow sticking in the image and blood flowing out of the wound. He understood that the Bodhisattva in his great compassion with all living beings had given his own body as a substitute for the stag and had been wounded in its place. This caused him to shave his head and to become a monk; he had his house pulled down and a Jizō shrine built on the spot. When the Emperor heard this story, he decided to erect a temple there himself, in order to dedicate this to the miraculous image.

Other images attributed to Dengyō Daishi and Jikaku Daishi shall be mentioned below, in the paragraphs devoted to the Six Jizō's and Shōgun Jizō.[6]

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[1] As *kaigen no dōshi*, 開眼導師.

[2] *Seiyō zakki* (1656), Vol. II, p. 31; *Tōkaidō meisho ki*, 東海道名所記, written in the Kwambun era (1661—1672), by ASAI RYŌ-I, 淺井了意 (*Onchi shōsho*, 溫知叢書, Vol. I, Ch. V, pp. 180, sqq.); *Ise sangū meisho zue*, 伊勢參宮名所圖會, Ch. II, p. 28.

[3] *Setsuyō gundan* (1698), Ch. XII, p. 44.

[4] Vol. I, p. 1007.

[5] Ch. VI, p. 51.

[6] This chapter, §§ 5 and 6.

## § 4. *Obitoki-dera at Nara.*

We read in the *Nanto meisho shū*[1], 南都名所集, or "Collection of famous places of the Southern Capital (Nara)" that Some-dono, 染殿, i. e. Fujiwara no Akiko, 明子, the Consort of the Emperor Montoku (A. D. 851—858), erected a Jizō temple after having given birth to Prince Korehito in A. D. 851. This prince mounted the throne in A. D. 859 as the first boy-emperor of Japan, and Fujiwara Yoshifusa, his grandfather, reigned as his guardian; from that time the Fujiwara house had the supreme power in its hands. A legend says that the Empress was pregnant for 33 months without being able to give birth to her child. As she suffered terribly, the physicians exhausted their science without any effect, and high Buddhist priests, known for the efficacy of their prayers, in vain practised their secret doctrines. Offerings *(nusa)* were sent to all powerful Buddhas and Shintō gods and prayers were offered up in their temples, but without any success. Then the Great Shintō god of Kasuga, 春日大明神, Kasuga Daimyōjin, Some-dono's *ujigami* (ancestral god), one night appeared to her in a dream and said: "There is in Soekami district (where Nara is situated) a Jizō, made in the shape of a *kuntai*, 裙帶 (a waist cloth worn by women) (!). In olden times, when I was present at Çākyamuni's expounding the Law, I made an agreement with Jizō Bosatsu. I said to him that none of the tortures of hell were more pitiful than the sufferings of women in a difficult child-birth. The Bodhisattva answered: 'If in those times they take their refuge to me, I shall stop their sufferings and cause them to feel at ease.' For this reason I (the god of Kasuga) carved the Jizō image and put it up. Make haste to pray to it." Thus spoke the Shintō god, and messengers were sent at once to Soekami district (i. e. to Nara). In no time the Empress gave birth to a son, Prince Korehito. Then she erected a Jizō temple at Nara, and called it "*Obitoki-dera*, 帶解寺, or "Temple for loosening the girdle", because it was dedicated out of gratitude for an easy birth. The number of pilgrims who soon flocked to this shrine was as numerous as the visitors of a market place.

This curious story throws a clear light upon the blending of Shintō and Buddhism, and upon Jizō's nature as a special protector of women and a bestower of easy birth.

## § 5. *The Six Jizō's.*

The idea of Jizō dividing himself into numberless bodies to save the living beings of the six paths *(gati)* was found in the principal sūtras, as we saw above.[2] This may have led the Chinese and Japanese Buddhists to the conception of six Jizō's, each of whom had the task of saving the beings of one of the gati. In China, however,

[1] Written in A. D. 1675 by MURAI MICHIHIRO, 村井道弘, and ŌTA NOBUCHIKA, 太田叙親, Ch. VIII, p. 2.

[2] Sect. I, Ch. I.

we read about these six Jizō's only in the Sūtra on the Ten Kings[1], written before the 13th century by a Chinese monk who wanted to blend Buddhism with Taoism. The author succeeded in spreading in China the belief in the Ten Kings of Hell, invented by himself, but the Six Titsang's never got hold of the Chinese mind. In Japan, on the contrary, the Ten Kings remained in obscurity, and even NICHIREN could not make them popular by writing a minute description of their departments and courts[2], while the Six Jizō's shone in ever brighter glory.

If we may believe the author of the *Garan kaiki ki* (A. D. 1689)[3], the cult of the Six Jizō's dates from the ninth century. ONO TAKAMURA, 小野篁 (A. D. 802—852), a high official and one of the best authors of his time, was said to have gone to hell and to have been ordered by King Yama to make six images of Jizō. After his revival he obeyed the command and erected the six idols in Kii district, Yamashiro province, that they might assist the living beings of the six *gati*. The neighbouring village was afterwards called *Roku Jizō mura* or "Village of the Six Jizō's". The divine power manifested by these images was so great, that their fame reached the Emperor Montoku, who in A. D. 851 issued a special order to build a temple there and to place the idols in this shrine. A thousand Buddhist priests had to eulogize Jizō and to hang "precious flags", 寶幡, on many trees in the mountain woods; for this reason this region got the name of *Kobata*, "Tree-flags", 木幡, and the temple was called *Kobata-dera*, 木幡寺, besides its original name of *Jōmyōji*, 浄妙寺, or "Pure and Wonderful Temple". Afterwards its name was changed into *Daizenji*, 大善寺, or "Shrine of Great Virtue". It was dedicated in A. D. 851, on the 24th day of the 7th month, this day being specially devoted to Jizō's worship, apparently in connection with the festival of the dead (Ullambana). Thirty years later the Emperor Yōzei (A. D. 877—884) had the temple repaired and appointed the Tendai priest ENCHIN, 圓珍 (814—891) (CHISHŌ DAISHI, 智證大師) abbot of the shrine. Also the Emperors Murakami (A. D. 947—967) and Shirakawa (A. D. 1073—1086) had it repaired and improved. In the reign of Go Ichijō Tennō, in the 4th month of A. D. 1023, when a severe epidemy made many victims in the capital, Jizō of Kobatadera, in the shape of a priest, appeared in a dream to the Tendai priest NINKŌ HŌSHI, 仁康法師, abbot of Gidarinji[4], 祇陀林寺, in Kyōto, and advised him to order the people to worship the Six Jizō's, in order to be freed from the disease as well as from the sufferings of the three (evil) roads, 三途の苦患. The abbot acted in accordance with this revelation, and an immense crowd, old and young, men and women, went up to the temple of Kobata and prayed to the Six Jizō's. And behold, the disease suddenly stopped!

[1] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 1, p. 25.
[2] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 4, p. 38.
[3] Ch. V, p. 18.
[4] Cf. YOSHIDA TŌGO'S Geogr. Dict., Vol. I, p. 29, who wrongly pronounces Kitarinji.

On the 24th day of the 7th month (again the same date) of A. D. 1157 the Prime Minister TAIRA NO KIYOMORI[1], 平清盛, who was a great believer in Jizō and caused all people to worship this Bodhisattva, distributed the Six Jizō's among six villages: *Roku Jizō mura* (which he called thus in order to save from oblivion the origin of the idols), *Toba*, *Katsura*, *Uzumasa*, *Mizoro-ike* and *Yamashina*[2], all in the neighbourhood of Kyōto.

Afterwards, also in the twelfth century, SAIKŌ HŌSHI, 西光法師, on the 24th day of the 7th month of an unknown year for the first time visited all the six Jizō's successively and caused others to follow his example. "From that time down to the present day (A. D. 1689)", says the author of the *Garan kaiki ki*, "thousands of people yearly visit the six places on the 24th day of the 7th month, and many groups of twenty, thirty or forty men from the neighbouring districts go there in procession, beating bells and drums and reciting the invocation of Amida's holy name."

The *Gempei seisuiki*[3], 源平盛衰記, under the heading of "Saikō's stūpas (sotoba)", relates how this priest to save the people from calamities, caused by their evil deeds in former existences, made seven groups of Six Jizō's and erected these on seven different cross-roads. He placed these images in a circle upon stūpas and thus dedicated them on those seven spots. He said: "In my wordly life I was an unbelieving man, and heaped crime upon crime from morning till night. Shall I therefore enter the Eight Great Nārakas (Hells)?" And he prayed to the Bodhisattva to protect him in the present and future life according to his original vow of great compassion.

In A. D. 1495 the Shōgun ASHIKAGA YOSHIZUMI, 足利義澄, had a new temple built at Roku Jizō village, which was dedicated on the 24th day of the 5th month. We learn from YOSHIDA TŌGO'S *Dai Nihon chimei jisho*[4] that at the present day there is still a *Roku Jizō dō* at the foot of Kobata yama, east of Fushimi. He refers to the *Yamashiro shi*[5], 山城志, which says that there is a Roku Jizō dō in the compound of *Daisenji*, which was formerly called *Kobata Jōmyōji*. He further quotes the *Myōseki shi*, 名跡志, which states that the temple was erected in A. D. 852 by the Emperor Montoku, and that in A. D. 1157 five of the six Jizō images were moved to *Yamashina*, *Toba*, *Katsura*, *Tokiwa*, 常盤, and *Mizoro-ike*, 御菩薩池.

The Kobata temple apparently belongs to the *Tendai* sect, for ENCHIN and NINKŌ HŌSHI were priests of this sect. DENGYŌ DAISHI (A. D. 767—822), the founder of the Tendai sect, was said to have erected six stone images of Jizō at Sakamoto, 坂本, from where they were removed to six different spots in JIKAKU DAISHI'S

[1] 1118—1181, the greatest of the Taira House.
[2] 六地藏村, 鳥羽村, 桂村, 太秦村, 御菩薩池, 山科村.
[3] Written about 1250; Teikoku Bunko, 帝國文庫, Vol. V, Ch. VI, p. 146.
[4] Vol. I, p. 153.
[5] Written in A. D. 1734.

time (A. D. 794—864). The idol of the Jizō chapel in *Baba-michi*, 馬場道, on Hieizan, according to the tradition was one of these six.[1]

Besides the Tendai sect the *Shingon* doctrine was connected with the cult of the Six Jizō's. Three of the six images worshipped in different shrines on Mount Kōya, the centre of the Shingon sect, which we mentioned above[2], were attributed to Kōbō Daishi, and one (that of *Yōrō-in*, 養老院) to ONO TAKAMURA, the same official who erected the Six Jizō's of Roku Jizō village. The names of the makers of the two other images are not mentioned. The *Kwōsekishū* (A. D. 1692)[3] relates the following story about the Jizō of *Yōrō-in*. A proud priest, whose heart was filled with pride instead of compassion, prayed at this temple to obtain a Bodhi heart. But Jizō appeared to him in a dream and led him to a *broad field* (this is the usual term for the way to hell). Then he said to him: "Here is the way leading to the Six Roads (gati).[4] Although you are constantly making offerings to me, your heart is wicked and you cannot obtain the 'fruit of Buddha'. I have led you to this place to show you the miseries of the Three (evil) Roads, that you may obtain a Bodhi heart." After these words he showed him the punishments of the Mountain of swords[5], and of the Sword-trees[6], the Hot water in caldrons[7], the Furnace coal[8], the River of ashes[9], the Filth[10], the Copper pillars[11] and the Iron couches[12], and the sufferings of the 136 hells.[13] This frightful sight made such a deep impression upon the priest that he was converted at once and Bodhi entered his heart. Then his guide, who hitherto seemed to be a human being, assumed the shape of Jizō Bosatsu and praised him, whereupon he awoke. From this time he was such a devout believer in Jizō and his heart was so full of Bodhi, that his fame spread all over the country.

The Jizō of *Saishō-in*, 最勝院, the fifth of the six Jizō shrines on Kōya san, in the shape of a little priest gathered fuel on behalf of the poor priest of this temple and lighted the fire for him. Afterwards the man saw that the forehead of the image was blackened by smoke and that its hands and feet were covered with ashes.[14]

The sixth Jizō, worshipped in *Sei-un-in*, 清雲院, aided a priest who had prayed to him for assistance at the examination, to be passed in order to become head of the *Kwangaku-in*[15], 勸學院. Part of a sūtra was to be discussed in the presence of all the monks, and if the candidate performed this task with eloquence and sagacity, he could become "Chief of the studies"[16], and the way to the leadership of Kōya

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[1] *O yama no shiori*, 御山のしをり, or "Guide of Hieizan", written by KAKŌ-AN SHUJIN 荷香菴主人, in A. D. 1832.

[2] Ch. II, § 2. [3] Ch. I, p. 2.

[4] 六道の街, Rokudō no chimata.

[5] 刀山, tōzan. [6] 劔樹, kenju. [7] 鑊湯, kwakutō. [6] 爐炭, rotan.

[9] 灰河, kega. [10] 糞屎, funshi. [11] 銅柱, dōchu. [12] 鐵床, tesshō.

[13] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 2.

[14] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. I, p. 2.

[15] "Institution for the encouraging of study" (on Kōya san).

[16] 學頭, gaku-tō.

san was opened to him. Thus this examination was of the greatest importance, and when the monks saw that the man who had been the first to pray to Jizō for assistance in this matter had a splendid success, they were sure that Jizō himself stood behind him and spoke in his place. From that time the candidates always prayed to the Bodhisattva before the examination.[1]

Another Jizō image on Kōya san, ascribed to Ono Takamura, stood in *Jizō-in*. When in olden times the governor of Shimotsuma in Kwantō, Tagaya by name, made a pilgrimage to Kōya san, the high water of the river Ki prevented him from reaching his place of destination. Then there came a little priest-boy in a boat and rowed him across the water. When he asked the priest of Jizō-in about this boy, the man said that he did not know him. Tagaya wondered who it might have been, but when praying in the Jizō chapel he saw little muddy footsteps, which made him sure that Jizō himself had assisted him in crossing the river. His belief in the Bodhisattva became stronger than ever, and on returning home he admonished his people to worship him with firm belief.[2]

The *Genkō Shakusho* (before A. D. 1346) mentions the Six Jizō's in three passages. Fujiwara no Tsunezane (經實)'s consort, the daughter of Fujiwara no Sanesue, 實季, from childhood worshipped the Buddhist deities. When she was twenty years old, she fell ill, and her mother said to her: "I shall make seven Yakushi's and worship them, that you may recover and have a long life." But her daughter answered: "I am sure that I shall not recover; please carve *Six Jizō's* instead of seven Yakushi's." The mother fulfilled her wish and requested the abbot Jōsan, 靜筭, of *Hieizan*, to pray on behalf of her daughter. He ardently prayed to Jizō, accompanying his prayers with strokes on a gong. Then a purple cloud was seen hanging before the window, a delicious smell pervaded the house, and the young woman, turned to the West with her hands joined in prayer, softly departed to a better world.[3]

The Buddhist priest ENNŌ[4], 圓能, died suddenly in his 57th year. His disciples watched by his side and did not bury him, and after fourteen days he revived, but could not speak. Three years later he regained his power of speech and related that six Buddhist priests had taken him to Paradise (*Jōdo*, 淨土, the Pure Land, i. e. Sukhāvatī). He saw magnificent palaces, resplendent with gold and silver and precious stones, and also Maitreya's splendid palace, but he saw also King Emma (Yama)'s residence, and the eight cold and the eight hot hells. This sight was so frightful that he could not bear it. On leaving hell, the six monks said to him: "We are the Six Jizō's." He did not die before many years afterwards, after having reached an old age, in the first years of the Nimpyō era (A. D. 1151).[5]

[1] *Kwōsekishū*, l. c. [2] Ibidem.
[3] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XVIII, K. T. K. Vol. XIV, p. 941.
[4] According to the Buddhist biographical dictionary, *Nihon Bukke jimmei jisho*, p. 105 s.v., it is not known to which sect he belonged.
[5] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XIX, p. 962.

KORETAKA, 惟高, a Shintō priest, was the head of *Tama-oya jinja*, 玉祖神社, a Shintō temple in Suwō province. Yet he believed in Buddha's doctrine and constantly recited Jizō's invocation (*myōgō*, 名號: "namu Jizō Bosatsu"). In A. D. 998 he fell ill and died suddenly, but revived after three days and spoke as follows: "I hastily went to a broad plain, but erred about and could not find my way, when six majestic Buddhist priests arrived. The first carried an incense burner, the second joined his palms (in prayer), the third held a precious pearl, the fourth a khakkhara *(shakujō)*, the fifth a flower basket and the sixth a rosary *(nenju)*. The first priest said to me: 'Do you know us?' When I answered: 'No, I do not know you,' he said: 'We are the Six Jizō's. We have appeared in six different bodies to save the living beings of the Six Paths. Although you are a Shintō priest, you believed in us and recited our name for a long time. Therefore we now cause you to return to the world of men. You must carve our images and daily worship us.' After having heard these words I revived." Koretaka erected a Buddhist temple and carved six Jizō images, which he placed in this shrine and worshipped daily. Whoever saw and heard this was moved to tears and was filled with admiration and gratitude for Jizō's blessing power *(kudoku)*. Koretaka lived to an age of more than seventy years, and on his death-bed he looked to the West, with Jizō's name on his lips.[1]

We may derive from this story that the fourteenth century, in the first half of which the Genkō Shakusho was written, knew the Six Jizō's represented with the attributes carried by these six priests in hell. On the grave monuments of the Genroku era (1688—1703), now sent to Europe in an astonishing number, Jizō is often represented carrying a khakkhara, a precious pearl, or a rosary, or joining his palms in prayer.

According to the *Jizō Bosatsu reiken ki* (1684)[2] TAIRA KIYOMORI (1118—1181) had six Jizō images carved and placed in chapels at the six entrances of the capital; the people called them the Six Jizō's. Kiyomori was a devout believer in Jizō and thought: "Jizō uttered a vow with regard to the roads (i. e. to protect those who walked along the roads). Therefore, if I build a chapel and place a Jizō at each of the six roads leading into the capital, the passers-by shall obtain great felicity in future existences." This story reminds us of the Six Jizō's of Roku Jizō mura, distributed by Kiyomori among six villages near Kyōto. Further, we have here the first instance of the cult of Jizō as a deity of the roads, a protector of travellers, in which function he superseded the ancient phallic gods of the roads, the Sae no kami.

The number six was applied not only to the number of the images, but also to their height. Kiyomori's Six Jizō's were six *shaku* high, and a stone lantern, called *Roku Jizō seki tōrō*, 六地藏石燈籠, which in the beginning of the nineteenth

[1] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XVII, p. 927. [2] Ch. XIII, p. 9.

century stood in a corner of the Kaminari-mon or "Thundergate" in Asakusa, the famous district of Yedo, had the same height. On its six sides the Six Jizō's were represented. Tradition said, that it had been offered in A. D. 1146 by KAMADA MASAKIYO, 鎌田正清, a vassal of Minamoto no Yoshitomo, Yoritomo's father.[1]

The *Kazusa kokushi*[2], 上總國志, or "History of Kazusa province" relates that CHIBA HIDETANE, 千葉秀胤, an eminent general, who in the Kwangen era (A. D. 1243—1246), when staying in Kazusa province, lost his beloved wife, on behalf of her soul made six Jizō images and erected them at the roadside. For this reason the neighbouring village got the name of Roku Jizō mura. According to another tradition, however, this village owed its name to the six stone Jizō's which formerly stood before the *Jizō-in*. This shrine was still there in 1877, when the book was written.

The *Higo kokushi* or "History of Higo province"[3], 肥後國志, states that two *Roku Jizō-tō* or "Six Jizō-stūpas" (pagodas) were seen in this province, namely in the villages of Kakiwara, 柿原, and Nakao, 中尾. That of the former village according to its inscription dated from A. D. 1432, the other one from A. D. 1444. In Ikegame, 池龜, a village in the same province, there were (in A. D. 1772) six Jizō images on which the inscription "Tai-ei" indicated the Tai-ei era (1521—1527) as the time when they were made and erected. This had taken place when the territories of the villages were limited; from the place of these Six Jizō's the numbers of miles of the roads were fixed in all directions.[4]

The *Fūzoku gwahō*[5], 風俗畫報, gives interesting details about the so-called *Edo Roku Jizō mairi* or "Visiting the Six Jizō's of Yedo". In A. D. 1691 the Buddhist priest MUKŪ, 無空上人, Mukū shōnin, cast six standing Jizō images of bronze after a wooden model, found by a man to whom Jizō had appeared in a dream and indicated the spot where he could find a wooden Jizō image. Mukū placed the idols in the six following temples of Yedo, respectively situated in Komagome, Sendagi, Nippori, Shimoya, Ueno and Asakusa[6]: Zuisenji, Sennenji, Jōkōji, Shingyōji, Daibutsudō and Shōchi-in[7]. These were the first Six Jizō's of Yedo. Afterwards, in A. D. 1716, the priest SEIGEN, 正元, erected six sitting Jizō's, ten shaku high and cast of bronze. He did so because in a severe illness he had vowed to cast and erect a large number

[1] *Edo meisho zue*, 江戸名所圖會, "Pictures of famous places in Yedo", written by SAITŌ YUKIO, 齋籐幸雄 (1737—1799) in the Kwansei era (1789—1800), enlarged by his son YUKI-TAKA, 幸孝, in the Bunkwa era (1804—1817), and finished by his grandson GESSHIN, 月岑, in the Bunsei era (1818—1829) (cf. the latter's preface), Ch. VI, p. 17.

[2] Written in 1877 by YASUKAWA RYŪKEI, 安川柳溪, Ch. VI, p. 3.

[3] Written in 1772 by MORIMOTO ICHIZUI, 森本一瑞, and edited in 1782, Ch. III, p. 166.

[4] Ch. III, p. 51.

[5] "Illustrated report on manners and customs", edited by the Tōyōdō, 東陽堂, at Tōkyō, Nr. 67 (Febr. 1894).

[6] 駒込, 千駄木, 日暮里, 下谷, 上野, 淺草.

[7] 瑞泉寺, 專念寺, 淨光寺, 心行寺, 大佛堂, 正智院.

of Jizō images for the conversion of future living beings, if the Bodhisattva would prolong his life. Jizō had assented in a dream, and had soon cured him. Then he followed the example of Taira Kiyomori (who, as we saw above, in the twelfth century erected six Jizō images at the six entrances of Kyōto), and after having cast six Jizō's placed them in the following temples: Shinagawa-dera, Taisōji, Shinjōji, Tōzenji, Reiganji and Eitaiji[1], situated in the districts of Shinagawa, Yotsuya, Sugamo, Sanya, and (the two last ones) in Fukagawa.[2] Thus a second cult of the Six Jizō's was founded in Yedo, and the *Roku Jizō mairi* was performed by many believers of the eastern capital.

It is a difficult question, whether the Japanese got the idea of the Six Jizō's from China or invented it themselves. If it is a Chinese conception introduced into Japan before it ever rose in a Japanese mind, the Sūtra on the Ten Kings would seem to have introduced it, but this is impossible because the Japanese cult is apparently older than this sūtra. We do not know when it was written, but it was called a counterfeit by the priest TSUNG-KIEN, who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century[3], and at the same time it was known in Japan, for NICHIREN (if we may believe the statement in the beginning of the Japanese work on the Ten Kings) then wrote his "Praise of the Ten Kings of the Flower of the Law". Thus the only fact we know about the date of the Chinese sūtra is that it was written before the thirteenth century. The oldest Japanese book in which the Six Jizō's are mentioned dates from that same century. It is a Shingon work, which contains the names, given to the Six Jizō's by the Shingon priest KYŌSHUN, 教舜. These names are different from those found in the Chinese sūtra, so that we may safely conclude that KYŌSHUN did not know this text; otherwise he would have followed or at least have mentioned it. He apparently used other works or invented the names himself. As his name is not found in WASHI-NO-O JUNKEI (鷲尾順敬)'s *Nihon Bukke jimmei jisho*[4], 日本佛家人名辭書, I do not know when this priest lived. His work, entitled *Hishō kuketsu*[5], 秘抄口訣, or "Oral instructions on secret books", was copied in A. D. 1295 by the priests INYŪ, 印融, and RAI-EN, 頼緣. The names of the Six Jizō's mentioned there are: *Jizō son*, *Hō-in-shu*, *Hōkō*, *Hōshu*, *Jichi* and *Kenko-i*, 地藏尊, 寶印手, 寶光, 寶手, 持地, 堅固意, i. e. Kshitigarbha, Ratnamudrāpāni, Ratnakāra, Ratnapāni, "Holder of the Earth", and "Strong Will". These names, except that of Jizō son, are terms of the Tantric school, represented by the *Shingon* sect and by the secret branch of the *Tendai* sect. Ratnapāni e. g., and "Holder of the Earth" were the great names to be given to Kshitigarbha seated on the North side of the maṇḍala (the *Taizō-mandara*, that of the World of Phenomena; the

[1] 品川寺, 太宗寺, 眞性寺, 東禪寺, 靈巖寺, 永代寺.
[2] 品川, 四谷, 巣鴨, 山谷, 深川.
[3] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 1, p. 25.
[4] Written in 1903. [5] Ch. XIV.

names of the Kongōmandara or Maṇḍala of the Diamond World were different) according to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*, treated above.[1] The Shingon priest RAI-YU, 賴瑜 (A. D. 1226—1304), the author of the *Hishō montō*[2] or "Questions and answers on secret books" quotes the *Jūzenshō*, 十善抄, or "Book on the Ten Virtues", which gave the Sanscrit names of the Six Jizō's in Chinese transcription. There we find Ratnapāni, Ratnakāra, 羅怛曩迦羅 (mostly translated into "Precious Place", 寶處, or sometimes into "Precious Light", *Hōkō*, 寶光), Dharaniddhara, 馱羅抳馱羅, etc. SEITAN, the learned priest whose interesting paper on Jizō, published in the *Kokkwa*, we quoted above[3], and another Japanese scholar, who wrote the article on Jizō in the *Tetsugaku daijisho*[4] or "Great Philosophical Dictionary", refer to many works, the greater part of which was apparently written by Shingon or Tendai priests. They both arrive at the conclusion that it is very difficult to make out the origin of the Six Jizō's.

They refer to the *Kokkyōshū*[5], 谷響集, UNSHŌ'S well-known work, written in A. D. 1689, where the passage of the *Hishō montō*, mentioned above, is quoted. Each of the Six Jizō's is described there as being white and holding a red lotus flower in his left hand. The first, who saves the beings in hell, holds the moon disk in his right hand and upon the lotus the head of a child and a flag are visible. His name is *Visvaparipuraka*[6], 尾薩縛鉢哩布羅迦, translated into "The Perfect One". The second Jizō, who saves the Pretas, with his right hand makes the *abhayamudrā* and there are three precious pearls upon the lotus which he holds in his left hand. His name is *Ratnakāra*[7], 羅怛曩迦羅. The third Jizō's right hand is resting on his breast, while a precious wheel is seen upon the lotus. His name is *Ratnapāni*[8], 羅怛曩播尼, translated into "Precious Hand", and his task is to save the Animals. On the lotus of the fourth Jizō, who saves the Asuras, and whose name is *Dharaniddhara*[9], 馱羅抳馱羅, a sword is represented, and his right hand forms the *abhayamudrā*. The same mudrā is made by the right hand of the fifth Jizō, who saves mankind; there is a seal (probably the "Buddha-seal", or the "Seal of the Buddha heart", i. e. the *svastika*) upon the lotus in his left hand, and his name is *Dṛhamanas*[10] (according to the *Tetsugaku daijisho;* according to the *Kokkyōshū* it is

[1] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5, p. 18.
[2] 秘抄問答, Ch. X.
[3] Sect. II, Ch. I, § 1, p. 25.
[4] Edited in 1910 by the *Dōbunkwan*, pp. 1166 sqq.
[5] "Collection of echoes of the valley", written in A. D. 1689 by the Buddhist priest UNSHŌ, 運敞; Ch. X, p. 17.
[6] Translated into 一切成滿.
[7] Translated into 寶處, "Precious Place", or into 寶光, "Precious Light".
[8] Translated into 寶手, "Precious Hand".
[9] Translated into 持地, "Holder of the Earth".
[10] 荼里(合)馱摩耶, translated into 堅固意, "Strong Will".

lacking in all books). As to the sixth Jizō, his Sanscrit name is unknown, but its transcription is given.[1] There is a Karma (?)[2] upon his lotus, and his right hand holds the sun disk.[3] Finally, the author of the *Kokkyōshū* pretends to know the true names of the Six Jizō's, to wit: *Jizō Bosatsu*, *Hōsho*, *Hōshō*, *Kenko-i*, *Jichi* and *Hō-in-shu*, 地藏菩薩, 寶處, 寶掌, 堅固意, 持地 and 寶印手. Thus he practically agrees with the author of the ancient work *Hishō kuketsu*, quoted above; he only gives "Precious Place" instead of "Precious Light" with regard to Ratnakāra.

The abbot JŌGAN[4], 淨嚴, according to the author of the *Tetsugaku daijisho* a great authority in such matters, also gives the same names, in the following order: *Jizō*, *Hōsho*, *Hōshu*, *Jichi*, *Hō-in-shu* and *Kenko-i*, 地藏, 寶處, 寶手, 持地, 寶印手, 堅固意. JŌGAN states that the Six Jizō's are not mentioned in the genuine sūtras. This is true, for the Sūtra on the Ten Kings is the work of a Chinese, and the *Renkwa sammi kyō*, 蓮華三昧經, which the Imperial Prince RYŌJO, 良助親王, was said to have obtained at the end of the thirteenth century from SAIONJI NYUDŌ, 西園寺入道, his foster father, to whom it was presented by a Chinese abbot in China, by its style proves to have been written by a Japanese author, as we learn from SEITAN.[5] The latter possesses this sūtra and even doubts whether the work entitled *Jizō Bosatsu hiki* or "Secret records on the Bodhisattva Jizō" was actually written in the Shō-an era (A. D. 1299—1301) by Prince RYŌJO, head *(zasu)* of the Tendai sect, to whom it is ascribed. This book is based upon the *Renkwa sammi kyō*, mentioned above, and contains the following names of the Six Jizō's: *Tanda* (Danta?), *Hōju* ("Precious Pearl"), *Hō-in* ("Precious Mudrā), *Jichi* ("Holder of the Earth"), *Jokaishō* ("Who takes away coverings and obstacles"), and *Nikkō* ("Sunlight"[6]). As the fifth name is that of Sarvanivaraṇavishkambhī, another of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas[7], it is clear that the author of this sūtra did not even know the difference between this Bodhisattva and Kshitigarbha, and that he arbitrarily used some names found in sūtras of the Yoga school. As Jizō was usually represented with a precious pearl in his hand, he called one of the Six Jizō's *Hōju;* only the term *Jichi*, "Holder of the Earth", was an ancient epitheton of Jizō, and *Hō-in*, "Precious Mudrā", reminds us of *Hō-in-shu*, 寶印手, mentioned by KYŌSHUN, RAIYU and JŌGAN.

These three authors are evidently the most reliable authorities with regard to this problem, and the names which they give to the Six Jizō's may be the most ancient ones. As to their *images* and their *task* (i. e. which of the six *gati* was to be converted by each of them), however, KYŌSHUN does not give any information,

[1] 怛羅桼也捨也(三昧耶). [2] 羯磨, Karma.

[3] 白處三昧 (explained as a sun in a sundisk, 日輪の内に日あるなり).

[4] I did not find his name in the Buddhist Biographical Dictionary, mentioned above; his work is entitled: *Higwan kongō nenshō kiketsu*, 悲願金剛念誦軌決。

[5] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, p. 50.

[6] 檀陀, 寶珠, 寶印, 持地, 除蓋障, 日光。

[7] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 4, p. 15.

and the two others do not agree with eachother. With regard to their *origin* the author of the *Tetsugaku daijisho* accepts the hypothesis of JŌGAN, who supposes them to be the six "Venerable Ones" (*Son*, 尊) of the *Taizō Jizō-in*, 胎藏地藏院, or "Temple of the Jizō of the Material World", a mystic term for a maṇḍala of the Yoga school. These "Venerable Ones" remind us of the saints surrounding Kshitigarbha in the maṇḍala, described in the Mahāvairocana sūtra treated above.[1] Jizō, says he, may have been represented surrounded by five other Bodhisattvas, his "relatives"[2] according to the sūtra, and these six images may have been called "the Six Venerable Ones", *Roku Son*, 六尊. The monks of the Shingon and Tendai sects, who wished to propagate the Jizō cult, may have called these "Six Venerable Ones" the „*Six Jizō's*", saviours of the six gati, to form a counterpart of the *Six Kwannons*. This may have happened in the Heian period (A. D. 794—858), at the time of Kōbō Daishi, Dengyō Daishi, Jikaku Daishi and Ono Takamura. SEITAN[3] also believes that five of the Six Jizō's were his *kenzoku* or "relatives", and that their cult was started in the time of Ono Takamura, who may have been the first to worship them in public.

This hypothesis would be very plausible, if the Six Jizō's had been entirely unknown in China. But the fact that they are mentioned in the *Sūtra on the Ten Kings* proves the contrary. Although PETRUCCI'S hypothesis with regard to their having been worshipped in Turkistan in the 9th and 10th centuries is based upon a picture which I do not deem a sufficient proof[4], it is very unlikely that the same idea should have arisen independently in China and in Japan. Therefore, although the Six Jizō's were evidently worshipped in Japan long before the introduction of the Chinese Sūtra on the Ten Kings, their cult must have come from the continent, because it was apparently known in China. Moreover, the idea of the "Six Muni", i. e. the six forms of Çākyamuni as the "presidents of the six worlds", found in Tibet according to WADDELL (*Lamaism*, p. 345), on the continent may have been transferred upon the two saviours of the six gati, Kshitigarbha and Avalokiteçvara, and in this form have found its way to Japan, where thenceforth the Six Jizō's and the Six Kwannons were worshipped.

As to the Sūtra on the Ten Kings, when this sūtra, which KYŌSHUN did not yet know, was introduced into Japan in the thirteenth century, it must have strengthened the belief in the Six Jizō's, and many Japanese priests may have considered their names, attributes and mudrās, described in this sūtra, to be of Indian origin. Yet the ancient names and explanations were partly remembered and the confusion was increased by priests of the Tokugawa period, who invented new names, sometimes even pretending them to be derived from the Sūtra on the Ten Kings. The author

[1] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5. [2] 眷屬, *kenzoku*.
[3] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, pp. 51 sqq.
[4] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. II, § 3, p. 24.

of the *Fukuden shokushu sanyō*[1], 福田殖種纂要, e. g. asserts to have found the following explanation in this sūtra. *Zenrin* (禪林) *Jizō* ("Wood of Meditation"), carrying a khakkhara, converts the beings of hell. *Muni* (無二) *Jizō* ("Without a second": unequalled), carrying a *Nyo-i*, 如意 (i. e. a scepter which grants all desires), converts the Pretas. *Gosan* (護讚) *Jizō* ("Protecting and Assisting"), carrying a rosary, converts the animals. *Shoryū* (諸龍) *Jizō* ("All dragons" [?]), with his palms joined, converts the Asuras. *Fukushō* (伏勝) *Jizō* ("Subjecting and conquering"), carrying an incense burner, converts mankind. *Fukusoku* (伏息) *Jizō* ("Subjecting and appeasing"), carrying a garment, converts the Devas. In reality the *Sūtra on the Ten Kings* gives quite different names. We read there that Çākyamuni said to Kshitigarbha, that the latter should appear in six different forms, and that the Buddha described these shapes as follows.

*Yotenga* (預天賀) *Jizō* ("Preparing or being in charge of the felicity [litt. congratulations] of the Devas"), who in his left hand carries a cintāmaṇi, 如意珠, or "pearl which grants all desires", and with his right hand makes the "mudrā of explaining the Law"[2], blesses all devas and men. *Hōkwō-ō* (放光王) *Jizō* (the "King who emits light"), who in his left hand carries a khakkhara and with his right hand makes the varadamudrā, 與願印[3], gives rain and causes the five cereals to prosper (litt. completes them). *Kongō-tō* (金剛幢) *Jizō* ("Diamond [i. e. Vajra] streamer"), who in his left hand carries a "Diamond streamer" and with his right hand makes the abhayamudrā[4], converts the Asuras. *Kongō-hi* (金剛悲) *Jizō* ("Diamond compassion"), who in his left hand carries a khakkhara and with his right hand makes the "leading and assisting mudrā", 引攝印, blesses all the paths of the side births (a term for animals), 利諸傍生趣. *Kongō-hō* (金剛寶) *Jizō* (Vajraratna, "Diamond treasure"), who in his left hand carries a precious pearl and with his right hand makes the Amṛta (litt. "Sweet dew") mudrā (甘露印) distributes food to the Pretas and satiates the starving. *Kongō-gwan* (金剛願) *Jizō* ("Diamond Vow"), who in his left hand carries a "Streamer of Yama" (Emma-tō), 焰魔幢 (with a human head) and with his right hand makes the "mudrā which completes discrimination" (of good and evil, true and false), 成辨印, enters hell and saves the living beings.[5]

It is remarkable that the first of these Six Jizō's saves both devas and men, and that the second (whose task it would be to save mankind, if the first had not taken this task) is designated as the special rain god, who causes the crops to thrive.

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[1] Composed in A. D. 1686 by NAMPŌ KOSSHI FUKATEI, 南峯乞士不可停. Quoted by SEITAN, *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, p. 50.

[2] 說法印, the "Preaching" mudrā.

[3] "Granting wishes".

[4] 施無畏印, "distributing fearlessness".

[5] The *Butsuzō zui* (Ch. II, p. 17b) gives a picture of these Six Jizō's, with exactly the same names, attributes, mudrās and explanations. There the word *watasu*, 度, is used with regard to Jizō's saving the Devas and men, Asuras, animals, Pretas and beings in hell. Fig. 12.

We need not ask which school invented these names, mudrās etc.: the Tantric school is, of course, responsible for these Six Ti-tsangs. A Japanese work of the Genroku era (1690), the well-known *Butsuzō zu-i*[1] or "A series of pictures of Buddhist images", is evidence of the fact that the Japanese took them up and placed them side by side with the older traditions about the Six Jizō's, whose ancient names were partly retained and partly replaced by other names of later invention (Fig. 12). After having mentioned the same names, attributes and mudrās as those found in the Sūtra on the Ten Kings, the author gives a second list[2], containing the following names: *Chiji* Jizō ("Holder of the Earth"), *Hōshō* Jizō ("Precious nature"), *Hōshō* Jizō ("Dharma nature"), *Darani* Jizō ("Dhāraṇī"), *Keiki* Jizō ("Cock and Tortoise", probably a mistake for *Kakki*, 鶴龜, "Crane and Tortoise", the emblems of longevity, especially because he is also called *Emmei* (*Emmyō*) or "Lengthener of Life", cf. above the Dragon Jizō, the dragon being filled with *Yang*, Light), and *Hō-in* Jizō ("Dharma-mudrā")[3] (Fig. 13).

The first, who is also called *Gosan* (護讃) *Jizō*, i. e. "Protecting and assisting Jizō", has a rosary in his hands. The second, who has the names of *Gasshō* (合掌) and *Hashō* (破勝) *Jizō*, i. e. "Jizō who joins his palms (in veneration)" and "Jizō who breaks and conquers (the evil demons)", joins his hands. The third, whose name is also *Fukyūsoku* (不休息) *Jizō*, i. e. "Jizō who never rests (from his blessing labour)", carries an incense burner with a long handle. The fourth, also called *Benni* (辨尼) *Jizō* (a word for *dhāranī*?), with his right hand makes the abhaya-mudrā and in the left carries a small round dish (an almsbowl?). The fifth, who also wears the names of *Kwōmi* (光味) *Jizō*, "Jizō of brilliant flavour" (?) and *Emmei* (not *Emmyō*) (延命) *Jizō*, i. e. "Jizō who lengthens life" (cf. the *Emmyō Jizō kyō* to be treated below, Ch. VI), carries the precious pearl in his left and the khakkhara in his right hand. He is seated upon a lotus, the five others stand upon lotus flowers. The sixth, who is also called *Sanryū* (讃龍) *Jizō*, i. e. "Jizō who assists the dragons" (or "The assisting dragon"), carries a banner.

A work of the Kwan-ei era (1624—1643)[4] gives three lists of names: those of the Sūtra on the Ten Kings, those given by the author of the *Fukuden shokushu sanyō*, who wrongly pretended to have found them in the same sūtra (see above) and, finally, the following six, which are partly identical with those of the *Butsuzō zuī*: *Hōshō* ("Dharma nature"), *Hōseki* ("Pile of treasures"), *Darani* ("Dhāranī"), *Hō-in* ("Ratnamudrā), *Zasshu* ("Various mantras"), and *Jichi* ("Holder of the Earth")[5]. As we saw above, Ratnamudrā[6] and "Holder of the Earth" are ancient, the other names being inventions of the Tokugawa period.

[1] Ch. II, p. 17b. Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 4, p. 43, note 1, and *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, p. 50.
[2] Ch. II, p. 18a. [3] 地持, 賓性, 法性, 陀羅尼, 鷄龜, 法印.
[4] *Mu-en jihi shū*, 無縁慈悲集, written in the Kwanei era (1624—1643) by the priest HŌYO, 報響.
[5] 法性, 寳積, 陀羅尼, 寳印, 雜呪, 持地.
[6] The ancient name is *Ratnamudrāpāni*, 寳印手.



Fig. 12.



Fig. 13.

The six Jizō's in the *Butsuzō zui* (II, pp. 17b and 18a). Fig. 12: the ancient names, attributes and mudrās mentioned in the Sūtra on the Ten Kings. Fig. 13: new names and attributes.

The Six Jizō's are called *messengers* in a Shingon work of unknown date.[1] At the question: "Are there relatives *(kenzoku)*[2] of Jizō?" the following answer is given: "There are six messengers (*shisha*, 使者), manifestations of (Jizō's) blessings bestowed upon the six gati. They are: *Emma shisha* ("Messenger of Yama"), *Jihō dōji* ("Boy who holds treasures"), *Tairiki shisha* ("Messenger of Great Power"), *Taiji tenjo* ("Female angel of Great Compassion"), *Hōzō tenjo* "(Female angel, Store of treasures"), and *Settenshisha* ("Messenger who assists the Devas").[3] These six Jizō's respectively save the beings of hell, the Pretas, the Animals, Asuras, Men and Devas. The author states that he borrowed these details from VAJRABODHI'S „*Rules*" (*I-kwei*, 儀軌, kalpa). This is a mistake, for he evidently means the work of this name attributed to AMOGHAVAJRA, 不空金剛, whose honorary title of "Great Broad Wisdom"[4] resembles Vajrabodhi's name of "Diamond Wisdom", 金剛智. This work, quoted as *Puh-kung I-kwei*, 不空儀軌, or "Rules of Amoghavajra", was declared to be a Chinese counterfeit even by the ancients. Among the works of the

[1] *Mandara son-i-gen zushō*, 曼荼羅尊位現圖鈔, "Illustrated book on the position and appearance of the Venerable Ones in the maṇḍala's," quoted by SEITAN, *Kokkwa* Nr. 159, p. 52.

[2] 眷屬, cf. above.

[3] 焔摩使者, 持寶童子, 大力使者, 大慈天女, 寶藏天女, 攝天使者.

[4] 大廣智 (NANJŌ, App. II, nr. 155).

Chinese Tripiṭaka many of such "kalpas" are attributed to Amoghavajra, who in the 8th century preached the Yoga doctrine in China.[1] As we are warned against such would-be quotations from ancient works by the false quotation from the Sūtra on the Ten Kings made by the author of the *Fukuden shokushu sanyō*, mentioned above, we do not attach much value to the statement of the *Mandara son-i-gen zushō*. Yet there are a few interesting points in this passage. The name of "Yama's messenger" reminds us of the identification of King Yama with Jizō, found in the *Hokke jū-ō sandan eshō*, attributed to NICHIREN.[2] Yama, the fifth of the Ten Kings of Hell, is there said to be a manifestation of Jizō. The latter's qualification as a "female angel" recalls his female nature[3], and the word *dōji*, "boy", which reminds us of Sudhanakumāra, is also interesting in connection with Jizō's frequent appearance in the shape of a "little priest" or boy, to assist his worshippers.

On reflecting upon all the passages mentioned above, we arrive at the conclusion, that the Six Jizō's were probably introduced by Japanese Shingon priests in the ninth century. That they did not *invent*, but *introduce* this conception, seems likely from the fact that the Chinese Sūtra on the Ten Kings, although of later origin, mentions and describes the Six Ti-tsang's, a proof of their being known in China.

The Tendai sect took them up soon after their introduction. Afterwards, in the thirteenth century, the Sūtra on the Ten Kings came to Japan and strengthened the cult of the Six Jizō's. Their ancient names and attributes, however, were confused with those found in this sūtra, and in the Tokugawa period this confusion was increased by the inventions of the priests, mostly belonging to the Shingon sect, who propagated this cult throughout Japan.

### § 6. *Shōgun Jizō*.

The *Genkō Shakusho*[4] (before A. D. 1346) contains the biography of the Hossō priest ENCHIN[5], 延鎮, who in A. D. 798 at the expense of the general SAKANOUE TAMURAMARO, 坂上田村麿 (758—811) built the famous Kiyomizu-dera on a hill at Kyōto, and thenceforward lived in this temple. When the Emperor Kwammu (782—805) despatched Tamuramaro at the head of the Imperial troops to Ōshū (the ancient province of Mutsu), to suppress the rebellion of Takamaru, 高丸, before his departure the general visited his friend ENCHIN and requested the latter to assist him by means of the power of Buddha's doctrine. Enchin promised him to do his utmost, and the general marched against the enemy, filled with confidence in this

[1] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 4, p. 15.
[2] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 4, p. 40.
[3] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2, p. 12.
[4] Ch. IX, *Kokushi taikei*, Vol. XIV, p. 783.
[5] A pupil of HŌ-ON HŌSHI, 報恩法師.

mighty protection. But chance was against him, and after having been defeated in Suruga province he fled to Ōshū, pursued by Takamaru. In a second battle a complete defeat was imminent for lack of arrows, when suddenly a little Buddhist priest and a little boy appeared on the scene and picked up the arrows lying on the battlefield. They gave these to Tamuramaro, who then killed Takamaru, defeated his troops and returned in triumph to his Imperial Master, whom he offered the rebel's head. Thereupon he went to Kiyomizu-dera and asked ENCHIN, by which doctrine he had protected him so well. The priest answered: "Among my doctrines (methods[1]) there is one devoted to *Shōgun Jizō*, 勝軍地藏 ('Army-conquering Jizō') and to *Shōteki Bishamon*, 勝敵毗舍門 ('Enemy-conquering Vaiçramana'). I made images of both these deities and offered and prayed to them." Now the general understood who had been the little priest and the boy who had picked up the arrows. He entered the temple hall and looked at the images: arrows and swords had apparently wounded them, and their feet were covered with mud! Tamuramaro was struck with wonder and reported the matter to His Majesty, who was also deeply impressed by this miracle[2].

This story formed the base of Shōgun Jizō's cult, which soon enjoyed the high favour of the warriors of warlike Japan. It was a secret doctrine, as we learn from UNSHŌ'S *Kokkyōshū* (A. D. 1689)[3], the important Buddhist work quoted above, which at the question, from which sūtra Shōgun Jizō and his secret doctrine were derived, answers that his name is not found in the sūtras, but that he is the "Great Manifestation of Atago" (Atago Daigongen[4], very much adored by great men of remote antiquity like EN NO SHŌKAKU[5], 役小角, and UMPEN SHŌNIN, 雲遍上人.

Enchin was a priest of the Hossō sect, the doctrine of which was based upon the *Yui-shiki-ron*, i. e. the *Vidyāmātra çāstra*, a work of VASUBANDHU, translated in A. D. 650—669 by the famous pilgrim Hüen Tsang. Thus this sect is a branch of the Yoga school, and it is clear why Kiyomizu-dera belongs to both the Hossō and the Shingon sects. The cult of Shōgun Jizō, which started from this temple, was accordingly based upon a mystic doctrine of the Yoga school, which agrees well with Unshō's statement about its being a "secret doctrine".

A similar story, evidently borrowed from this passage of the *Genkō Shakusho*, was told about the Jizō of *Jiin-in*, 慈因院, a shrine in the compound of *Jōkwōmyōji*,

[1] 法, *hō*.

[2] We find the same tale in the *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki* (1684), Ch. XIII, p. 16.

[3] Ch. X, p. 18; quoted by SEITAN, *Kokkwa*, Nr. 160, p. 65.

[4] 愛宕大權現.

[5] A sage who lived in the seventh century, and who loved Buddha's doctrine, at the same time being a great *magician*. For more than thirty years he lived in a cave in the Katsuragi mountains, where he went in A. D. 665, in his 32th year. The Emperor Mommu (697—707) banished him to Izu-shima because his magic was said to have an evil influence upon the people; but he was pardoned afterwards and returned. In 1799 the Emperor Kwōkaku bestowed upon him the title of *Shimpen Daibosatsu* or "Miraculous Great Bodhisattva".

淨光明寺, or "Temple of the Pure Light" at Kamakura. This standing image of *Ya-hiroi Jizō*, 矢拾 ("Who picked up arrows"), was said to have been the *mamori honzon*, 守本尊, or tutelary deity of ASHIKAGA TADAYOSHI, 足利直義 (1307 to 1352, Takauji's brother), and in the shape of a little priest to have picked up arrows on the battlefield and to have given them to Tadayoshi, when the latter was about to be defeated for lack of arrows. When after the battle Tadayoshi saw his tutelary image, it had an arrow in its hand as a second khakkhara. "Even at the present day", says the author of the *Shimpen Kamakura shi*[1], 新編鎌倉志, who relates this story, "the khakkara of this Jizō is the shaft of an arrow."

SEITAN[2] refers to a passage of the *Nihon shokoku fūdoki* or "Records on customs and geography of all the Japanese provinces", which pretends to date from A. D. 713, when the Empress Gemmei ordered the redaction of the *Fūdoki* of the different provinces. We may be sure, however, that it is a work from a much later time, and that not much value must be attached to its statements with regard to the earliest centuries of Japan's positive history. This book says that Gyōmanji, a Buddhist temple in Tsuru district, Kai province, originally was a "secret house", 密室, where ILLA, 日羅, from Kudara, in the 14th year of the Emperor Bidatsu's reign (A. D. 585) practised the doctrine of Shōgun Jizō. The words "secret house" seem to indicate that it was a mystic cult, in which case the author made an enormous anachronistical blunder, as the Yoga school at that time had just risen in India and had not yet reached China, much less Korea. As to this Illa from Kudara, he is mentioned in the *Nihongi*[3], where we read that he was a high official with the title of Talsol[4], 達率, at the court of the king of Pèkché (Kudara). At the request of the Emperor Bidatsu this "wise and brave man" came to Japan, accompanied by several other officials. "At this time Illa, clad in armour, and on horseback, came up to the gate (leading to the Hall of Audience)." Afterwards his companions, the Pèkché officials, conspired against him, because the advise he had given to the Emperor was very dangerous for Pèkché. "Now Illa's body was radiant like a flame of fire, and therefore Tök-ni and the others were afraid and did not kill him. At length, during the interlune of the 12th month, they awaited his loss of radiance and slew him. But Illa came to life again, and said: 'This is the doing of our slaves, and not of Silla.' Having thus spoken, he died."[5] This is the story of Illa; no mention is made of his worshipping Shōgun Jizō, and he did not live in Kai province but at Kuwa no ichi in Ato, from where he afterwards moved to Naniwa. The author of the *Fūdoki*, or others before him, may have been struck by the resemblance of Shōgun Jizō, the

[1] "A new history of Kamakura", written in 1684 by KAWAI TSUNEHISA, 河井恒久.
[2] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 160, p. 66.
[3] Ch. XX, K. T. K. Vol. I, p. 354, 12th year of Bidatsu's reign (583); ASTON'S translation, Vol. II, pp. 97 sqq.
[4] Cf. ASTON, *Nihongi*, II, p. 283, note 3.
[5] ASTON'S translation, *Nihongi*, Vol. II, pp. 98, 100.

divine priest clad in armour and riding on horseback, with Illa, the semi-divine general (Talsol), whose body was radiant like fire and who came up to the Palace, "clad in armour and riding on horseback." This may have given rise to the story about the latter's worshipping Shōgun Jizō. This idea being only found in the *Nihon shokoku fūdoki*, a counterfeit of later date, we may safely reject it and consider the passage of the *Genkō Shakusho* to be the oldest reference concerning Shōgun Jizō. Enchin was probably the first to propagate this cult, which must have been very attractive to the warriors of Japan. He probably gave this title to Jizō as a special protector of the military class because the same term of *shōgun* was known as a translation of the sanscrit "*prasenajit*", "Conqueror of the armies". We find this term in the title of nr. 988 of NANJŌ'S Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, where a "*prasenajit rāja*"[1], or "King who conquers the armies" is mentioned.

In a curious book, written in 1556 by an unknown author and entitled *Katsuragawa Jizō ki*, 桂川地藏記, Jizō is said to be the *k'ang*, 亢, constellation, the second of the 28 constellations, consisting of four stars in Virgo. As the first constellation (*kioh*, 角, consisting of four stars, one of Spica and three of Virgo) and the second one were considered to be connected with the *army*, 軍, and to protect the inner palace of the Emperor, SEITAN[2] points out that it seems as if this queer identification of Jizō with this constellation had its foundation in the cult of Shōgun Jizō. This supposition being very vague, however, we mention this book only for the sake of curiosity. We have here, of course, a *Taoistic* idea, and it reminds us of those semi-Taoistic, semi-Buddhistic works like the "Sūtra on the Ten Kings" and the "Doctrine of the wonderful Repentance (practised in worship of) the Ten Merciful Kings", treated above.[3]

UNSHŌ'S statement about Shōgun Jizō's being *Atago Daigongen*, the "Great Manifestation of Atago" is confirmed by many other passages of works written in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, as well as by this *Gongen's* image, represented in the *Butsuzō zui*[4] (A. D. 1690), and accordingly in HOFFMANN'S *Pantheon von Nippon*.[5] We read there that a Buddhist priest erected a temple of this deity on Mount Atago at Kyōto. It was, of course, like all those *Gongen*, a Shintō god, who was declared to be a manifestation of a Buddhist deity! He is represented *riding on horseback*, carrying a *khakkhara* in his right and a *precious pearl* in his left hand, and wearing a helmet on his head and a sacerdotal robe over his armour. A round halo is seen behind his head. His face is gentle like that of the other Jizō images (Fig. 14).

[1] 勝軍王. There was a King of this name in Buddha's time.
[2] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 160, p. 68.
[3] Sect. II, Ch. I, §§ 1 sq. SEITAN says that the author of the *Katsuragawa Jizō ki* had evidently read the two sūtras entitled 日藏經 and 月藏經, where the 28 constellations are treated.
[4] Ch. III, p. 7a.
[5] VON SIEBOLD'S *Nippon*, Vol. V, Tab. XXII, fig. 246.



Fig. 14. Atago Gongen (Shōgun Jizō) on horseback. *Butsuzō zui* III, p. 7a.

YOSHIDA TŌGO[1] states that the Shintō god of Atago at Kyōto was a *Thundergod*[2]. He was especially famous for giving protection against *fire*. There were several temples of the same name in Japan. The *Sandai jitsuroku*[3], 三代實錄, e. g. mentions the Shintō god of Atago, 愛當護, in Tamba province, who in A. D. 864 obtained the lower degree of the secondary fifth rank; and the *Engishiki* speaks about an Atago temple, 阿多古神社, in Kuwata district (Tamba province). The god of Atago at Kyōto, however, had no rank before A. D. 880. They all belonged to the same kind of deities and were akin to the god of Matsu-no-o. Mount Atago at Kyōto was one of the seven celebrated mountains from the time when the *shugendō* (修驗道) priests (the so-called yamabushi, 山伏, belonging to the Shingon and Tendai sects) began to combine Buddhism with Shintō and to perform their cult on this mountain. The first men who started this doctrine were *Shingon* priests (in the 9th century, although tradition calls En no Shōkaku[4], who lived in the seventh century, the founder of this cult); those belonging to the Tendai sect (the *Honzan-ha*[5], 本山派, those of the Shingon sect having formed the *Tōzan-ha*, 當山派) started much later, in A. D. 1090. Thus we see priests of the *Shingon* sect, i. e. the Yoga school, dominating this centre of Shōgun Jizō's cult, a fact which agrees with our statements above. There were two temples on Atago: the ancient Shintō shrine, dedicated to a Thunder or Fire god akin to the Shintō deity of Matsu-no-o, and the main temple, called by the Buddhists the *Honchi-dō*, 本地堂, or "Hall of the Original deity" (i. e. Shōgun Jizō, whose manifestation was the Shintō god). This was, however, not the Buddhist temple of the mountain, which wore the name of *Haku-unji*, 白雲寺, or "Temple of the White Cloud". That shrine was pulled down in 1868, when the Shintō god of the mountain was declared to be *Hi no kami*, the God of Fire, because he protected his worshippers against fire, being originally identical with the ancient Shintō god Homusubi. At the same time the Buddhist name of *Atago Gongen* was abolished.[6]

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[1] *Dai Nihon chimei jisho,* Vol. I, pp. 118 sq.
[2] But the *Wakan sansai zuē* (Ch. LXXII, p. 1205) declares him to be Homusubi, the ancient Fire god.
[3] Written in 901, K. T. K. Vol. IV, Ch. VIII, p. 158.
[4] Cf. above, this paragraph.
[5] "Branch of the Original Temple."
[6] YOSHIDA, l. l.

The blessing power of Shōgun Jizō of Atago is praised as follows in the *Seiyō zakki* (A. D. 1656)[1]: "Shōgun Jizō, manifesting himself as Dai Gongen, resides on Mount Atago in the West of the Capital, and is the *tutelary god of the gentry*. Going to the battlefields he kills the wicked and gives *peace* to the world. Moreover, he *removes calamities* and *fires*, and gives *many generations* and *felicity* to the families, or he bestows *easy birth* upon women. Oh, oh! Who should not revere the blessing power of this Bodhisattva!"

There are several Atago mountains in Japan: in Tamba, Echizen, Echigo, Yedo, Awa, Kazusa, Hitachi, Rikuzen, Uzen and Kai, and an Atago river in Tōtōmi. Shōgun Jizō is the *honchi-butsu* or the Buddhist deity who manifested himself in the ancient Shintō god of Atago-yama in Echizen.[2] At Atago in Echigo there is an old Shintō shrine of Atago Gongen, and this was declared to be a manifestation of Shōgun Jizō. But there was also a chapel of *Bishamon* (Vaiçramaṇa), belonging to the Shingon sect. Thus we find here the two deities, according to the *Genkō Shakusho* worshipped by Enchin hōshi, *Shōgun Jizō* and *Shōteki Bishamon*, having together a *Shingon* cult in connection with the name Atago![3]

As to the Atago hill in the Shiba district of Yedo, we read in the *Edo suzume*[4], 江戸雀, that Shōgun Jizō of Atago-yama in Yamashiro (i. e. at Kyōto) was worshipped there by all people, and that he was said to protect the *army* and to cause his believers to escape *fire* calamity. This belief is no doubt prevailing still at the present day. The two Buddhist shrines at the foot of this hill, called Empukuji, 圓福寺, and Shimpukuji, 眞福寺, both belong to the Shingi branch, 新義派, of the Shingon sect.[5]

On Mount Atago in Rikuzen[6] there is an image of Shōgun Jizō, and there was also a chapel of the thousand-bodied *Ākāçagarbha*, 虛空藏, Kshitigarbha's counterpart among the Eight Great Bodhisattvas of the Tantric school.[7]

Atago Gongen of Tendō in Uzen was the tutelary deity of the Tendō castle, and there was a *Shingon* shrine near by, which wore the name of *Hōdōji*, 法幢寺, "Temple of the Streamer of the Law".[8] The streamer is often mentioned in connection with Jizō's cult, and the Shingon sect is again present here. The protection of castles was one of Shōgun Jizō's functions, as we shall see below. This is quite logical with regard to his being the conqueror of the armies of the wicked, i. e. of the enemy. As to the Shingon sect, we may notice that also the *Shōgunji*, 勝軍寺, or "Temple of the Conqueror of the Armies", in Kawachi province, belongs to this sect. This temple is also called *Taishidō*, 太子堂, or "Hall of the Crownprince", because it was believed to have been erected by Shōtoku Taishi.[9] Another *Shō-*

[1] Vol. V, p. 54. [2] YOSHIDA, l. l., Vol. II, p. 1887.
[3] YOSHIDA, l. l., Vol. II, p. 1991.
[4] "Sparrows from Yedo", printed in 1677 (author unknown). Ch. IV, p. 55 (*Kinsei bungei sōsho*). [5] YOSHIDA, l. l., Vol. II, p. 2908. [6] YOSHIDA, l. l., Vol. III, p. 4089.
[7] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 4. [8] YOSHIDA, l. l., Vol. III, p. 4410.
[9] YOSHIDA, l. l., Vol. I, p. 327.

*gunji*, in Izumi province, was said to have been dedicated at the time of the Emperor Junna (A. D. 824—833) to Shōgun Jizō of Atago-yama in Yamashiro.[1]

Another centre of Shōgun Jizō's cult was Mount Atago in Kai province. The *Kaikokushi* or "History of Kai province" (1814) gives interesting details about this worship in the sixteenth century. We read there[2] that an image of Jizō was (still in 1814) the principal idol of the *Hōzō-in* or "Temple of the Store of Treasures" on Atago-yama, where TAKEDA SHINGEN, 武田信玄 (i. e. Takeda Harunobu, whom we mentioned above[3], and who lived 1521—1573), used to pray. In 1584, when Ieyasu marched to Owari province, the Governors (Bugyō) of Kai province, Naruse Kichiemon and Kusakabe Hyōemon, Ieyasu's vassals, prayed to this Jizō, that their lord might conquer Hideyoshi, who was actually beaten at Kowaki-yama. Upon this occasion Kusakabe offered a big sword to the Bodhisattva, and erected a shrine for him as the tutelary deity of the castle gate. Six villages of Kai province[4] had temples of Shōgun Jizō, also called Atago Jizō. One of these[5] was built by TAKEDA SHINGEN in 1539, when he had conquered Murakami Yoshikiyo after having erected and worshipped an image of Shōgun Jizō in his camp.

The Kwampō era (1741—1743) saw a Shōgun Jizō dedicated in the *Atago-sha* or "Shintō shrine of Atago" at Yukinoshita, 雪ノ下, a village in the Kamakura district, and thenceforth festivals were celebrated there twice a year, on the third day of the 4th month, and on the fifteenth of the 8th month.[6]

In the *Atago-dō* in the compound of the famous Tendai temple *Chūsonji*, 中尊寺 (founded by Jikaku Daishi in A. D. 850 and enlarged by the Fujiwara's of the 12th century) at Hiraizumi village, Rikuchū province, a Shōgun Jizō and eight Tengu images (Mount Atago at Kyōto is also a famous Tengu mountain[7]) are found.[8]

When the general YAMAMURO TSUNETAKA in the Tembun era (1532—1554) built the castle of Iihitsu, 飯櫃, in Kazusa province, he placed an image of Shōgun[9] Jizō at the main gate, as a tutelary god of the castle. This idol was afterwards removed to the Rempuku shrine, 蓮福寺, in Iihitsu village.[10]

*Mukuge* (毬毛) *Jizō* or the "Long-haired Jizō" of *Sairinji*, 西林寺, the "Temple

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[1] *Senshūshi*, 泉州志, or "Annals of Izumi province," written in A. D. 1700 by ISHIBASHI NAOYUKI, 石橋直之.

[2] Ch. LXXIII, 佛寺部, nr. 1, p. 12.

[3] Sect. III, Ch. I, § 5, p. 71.

[4] *Hōshōji*, *Kōbai-in*, *Chōsengi*, *Daitsūji*, *Hōjuji* and *Dōsenji* (法昌寺, 黄梅院, 長泉寺, 大通寺, 宝樹寺, 洞泉) in Koarama, Ryūchi, Shimoyama, Okawara, and two in Nishiwara (*Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXXIII, Butsuji-bu, nr. 11, p. 5; Ch. LXXXI, same section, nr. 9, p. 6; Ch. LXXXVII, same section, nr. 15, p. 8; Ch. XC, same section, nr. 17b, p. 23).

[5] *Hōshōji* at Koarama village.

[6] *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō* (written in 1841), Ch. LXXXII, Kamakura district, sect. 14, p. 16.

[7] Cf. my treatise on the Tengu, T. A. S. J. Vol. XXXVI, Part. II.

[8] *Hiraizumi shi*, 平泉志, written in 1885 by TAKAHIRA MAFUJI, 高平眞藤.

[9] Shōgun is wrongly written 将 instead of 勝.

[10] *Kazusa-kokushi* (1877), Ch. VI, p. 42.

of the Western Wood" at Kyōto, was said to be the same as Shōgun Jizō of Atago.[1] Further, there was an image of Shōgun Jizō in the Kwannon temple, 觀音寺, in Akura[2], 安倉, a village in Settsu province; and in *Sambōji*[3], 三寶寺, a shrine in Kami-Shakuji village near Yedo, Shōgun Jizō was the principal idol, represented as a *Buddhist priest on horseback*. Tradition says that long ago the priest in charge of this shrine one night had a dream, in which the Bodhisattva spoke to him and said: "I wish to go and save the living beings of the Six Paths, but my horse is still here." When the priest awoke and entered the shrine, he saw only the horse; the image itself had been stolen. Then he made a new image and placed it upon the old horse.[4]

Among the 48 Jizō's in the southern districts of Yedo, from the Kwansei era (1789—1800) visited in a fixed order by many pilgrims, one *Shōgun Jizō* is mentioned (nr. 27). As to Jizō's protection against *fire*, *Hiyoke* (火除) and *Hikeshi* (火消) *Jizō* ("Jizō who averts or extinguishes fire"), are nrs. 11 and 26 of this series.[5]

The Japanese Buddhists having thus made the gentle Jizō the Buddhist war god, they made a further step in this direction by identifying him with Hachiman, the "Eight banner" god of war of the Shintōists, the deified Emperor Ōjin. We read in the *Saezurigusa*[6], さへずり草, that the *shintai* or "god-body" in the *Hachimangū*, 八幡宮, of Ichigaya, 市ゲ谷, in Yedo had the shape of a Buddhist priest and resembled Jizō. It was a picture, attributed to Kōbō Daishi and said to be an ancient painting from the famous Hachiman temple of *Iwashimizu*, 石淸水, founded in A. D. 859. Also the *shintai* of *Ana Hachiman*, 穴八幡 (in Yedo?), was a standing Buddhist priest with a khakkhara in his hand, and *Tōji*, 東寺, the *Shingon* temple in Kyōto, founded in 796 by Kōbō Daishi, also possessed such a Hachiman idol. The Shingon priests were, of course, again the men who in this way identified their Shōgun Jizō with the Shintō god of war.

It is very interesting to notice, that Ti-tsang, represented on horseback, was also known on the continent. We have seen above (Sect. II, Ch. IV, § 2), that a Chinese legend of the tenth century describes him leading a horse in hell (perhaps a survival of Hayagrīva's shape). In *Annam* he is sometimes represented riding on horseback (we do not read that he is clad in armour), in a Buddhist temple (where also Kwanyin is worshipped and the ten hells are painted on the walls) and placed near *Kwan Ti*, the War God.[7]

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1 *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki* (1684), Ch. XIV, p. 16.
2 In Teshima district.
3 "Triratna temple".
4 *Edo meisho zue* (1789—1817), Ch. IV, p. 135.
5 *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 67 (Febr. 1894), p. 75.
6 Written in 1859 by KATŌ JAKU-AN, 加藤雀庵, Ch. LXXIII, p. 19.
7 Dr. H. H. JUYNBOLL kindly pointed out to me this fact, mentioned by L. CADIÈRE, *Sur quelques faits religieux ou magiques observés pendant une épidémie de choléra en Annam*, II, § 4 (le Protecteur), *Anthropos* V (1910), p. 1147.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE FUJIWARA AND GEMPEI-PERIODS (858—1192).

### § 1. *Koyasu Jizō.*

We have seen above, that the Jizō of *Ki no moto*[1], as well as the so-called *Hara-obi no Jizō,* ascribed to Gyōgi Bosatsu[2], were believed to give easy birth. Sand from the compound of *Mibu dera* was an excellent charm for the same purpose[3]. The Emperor Shōmu (A. D. 724—749) had a *Koyasu no Jizō* or "Easy birth Jizō" made to pray for an easy delivery of the Crownprincess, and a temple (Rikkōji in Awa province) dedicated to this Jizō[4]. Also the Jizō of Emmyōji in Konishimi village, Kawachi province, was famous in this respect[5]. Kōbō Daishi was said to have made this image, and Dengyō Daishi was made responsible for another idol which was believed to have the same power[6]. The Jizō of *Obitoki-dera* at Nara, said to be the work of the Shintō god of Kasuga, gave easy birth to Montoku Tennō's Consort (A. D. 851) and to thousands of women afterwards[7], and even Shōgun Jizō of Atago, the tutelary god of the warriors, bestowed this blessing upon his female worshippers[8].

In the compound of the ancient Hachiman temple *Torikai Hachimangū,* 鳥飼八幡宮 in Tsuna district, Awaji province, built under the Emperor Murakami (A. D. 946 to 967), there was a Buddhist shrine, called *Kwōmyōzan Hōjuji,* 光明山寶樹寺, or "Temple of Light, Shrine of the Precious Tree", dedicated to *Koyasu Jizō.* If pregnant women worshipped this image with a devout heart, they were sure to have an easy birth. There was a yearly *Daihannya* meeting, 大般若會 (when the *Daihannya kyō,* i. e. the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra,* was read) on the 11th day of the first month, and upon this occasion prayers were offered up to the Bodhisattva for the peace and felicity of the Emperor and the people. Further evidence of the great importance of this temple was the fact that a *hōjō-e,* 放生會, i. e. a ceremony consisting in releasing living beings (animals) from confinement, was held there on the 15th day of the 8th month, the very date on which this ceremony used to be performed at court. Moreover, a *Hokke-e,* 法華會, a meeting for reading and expounding some parts of the *Hokke-kyō* or "Saddharma Pundarīka sūtra", used to be held in this

[1] Ch. I, § 3, p. 68. [2] Ch. I, § 5, p. 72. [3] Ch. II, § 1, p. 76. [4] Ch. II, § 2, p. 78. [5] Ch. II, § 2, p. 80. [6] Ch. II, § 3, p. 82. [7] Ch. II, § 4, p. 84. [8] Ch. II, § 6, p. 103.

temple on the 15th day of the 10th month, and on the 15th of the 11th month the five sections of the *Daijō-kyō*, 大乘經 (the Mahāyāna-bhisamaya sūtra, NANJŌ's Catal. Nrs. 195 and 196?) were read there[1].

The Jizō of *Jōkōji*, 常光寺, in Zaigō (西郷) village, Ukae district, Kawachi province, was a famous protector of women and a bestower of easy birth. The greatest part of the immense crowd of pilgrims, going up to this Jizō's festival on the 24th of the 7th month (Jizō's special day of worship, as we remarked above[2]), and passing the night there, were women. "There must be", says the author of the *Kwōsekishū*[3] (1692), "a profound *innen*, 因緣 (connection from previous states of existence) between Jizō and the female sex." He further refers to the Sūtra on Kshitigarbha's original vow, treated above[4], and states that all the 28 blessings, ascribed there to this Bodhisattva, prove to be actually bestowed by him upon his worshippers. No living being or object was ever struck by *lightning* inside the compound of this temple and in the village; no calamity ever fell upon the inhabitants; and none of the women living before the gate of this sanctuary ever had a difficult delivery. Nobody prayed in vain to this mighty Bodhisattva, who in the shape of a priest personally saved the abbot from the hands of a murderer, prevented the temple from conflagration by rousing a servant who had fallen asleep when fire had broken out in the shrine, and caused a thief to lose his way and err about in the building the whole night till he was arrested in the morning[5]. His fame reached the ears of the Emperor Shirakawa, who in A. D. 1088, after having become a *Hō-ō*, 法皇, or Imperial Priest, on his way to Kōya san visited this temple and bowed down before the image. When he was about to leave the shrine, a thunderstorm broke forth and the rain came down in torrents. The abbot advised the Emperor to make some offering to the Bodhisattva, who evidently prevented him from leaving. Then the monarch put a relic in the form of a grain in Jizō's hand, and the rain stopped at once. When he took the relic back, however, and promised to offer it to Jizō on his way home, the thunderstorm returned, heavier than before, and did not cease before the grain was placed again in Jizō's hand. Thereupon the Emperor, filled with admiration for this deity's miraculous power, went away and left the relic in the Bodhisattva's possession.[6]

There was a Koyasu Jizō on the temple ground of *Zenryōji*, 善龍寺, in the Nishitera machi, Ōsaka, which was said to have been carved by Bishop ESHIN, 惠心 (A. D. 942—1017), the famous bonze who prepared the foundation of the Jōdo sect and who was well-known as a scholar, painter and sculptor[7]. Another Koyasu Jizō, in the compound of *Ryō-un-in*, 良運院, a temple in the same street of Ōsaka, was attributed to *Jōchō*, 定朝, the celebrated sculptor of the 11th century[8].

[1] *Garan kaiki ki* (1689), Ch. VI, p. 48. [2] Ch. I, § 4, p. 70. [3] Ch. III, p. 8. [4] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2, pp. 6 sqq. [5] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. III, pp. 8, 10. [6] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. III, p. 5. [7] *Setsuyō gundan* (1698), Ch. XII, p. 34. [8] *Setsuyō gundan*, Ch. XII, p. 35.

UNKEI, 運慶, the famous sculptor of the thirteenth century, was said to have made the Koyasu Jizō of the *Nobu Jizō-dō*, 延生地藏堂, in *Nobu* (延生) village, Haga district, Shimotsuke province. The monthly festival of this temple took place on the 24th day of every month, and many pilgrims, also from the neighbouring provinces, visited the shrine on those days[1].

The *Jizō-dō* in *Odawara*, 小田原, Sagami province, was dedicated to Koyasu Jizō by HŌJŌ UJIMASA, 北條氏政 (1538—1590), who built this chapel in A. D. 1568 and again presented offerings to it twenty years later.[2]

We may finally mention the principal idol of *Hōmyō-in*, 抱明院, in Hayakawa village, Koma district, Kai province, which also bore the name of Koyasu Jizō[3].

Among the 48 Jizō's, visited successively in the South of Yedo, there are four *Koyasu* Jizō's (Nrs. 7, 9, 22 and 45), one *Hara-obi* (腹帶, "Belly-girdle") Jizō (Nr. 41) and one *Ko-sodate hara-obi* (子育腹帶, "Child-rearing Belly-girdle") Jizō (Nr. 15). The custom of visiting these 48 Jizō's, as well as 48 others on the Bluff (yama no te) of Yedo, and again 48 other Jizō's in the East of the town, was established in the Kwansei era (1789—1800), and is still prevailing. Among those of the Bluff there are three *Koyasu* Jizō's (Nrs. 29, 39 and 42), one *Taisan* (泰產, "Prosperous Birth") Jizō (Nr. 17), and two *Hara-obi* Jizō's (Nrs. 38 and 40), while the eastern group contains one *Koyasu* Jizō (Nr. 2), two *Anzan* (安產, "Easy birth") Jizō's (Nrs. 9 and 29), two *Ko-sodate* ("Child-rearing") Jizō's (Nrs. 18 and 37), and one *Ko-sazuke*, 子授 ("Child-giving") Jizō (Nr. 41). On examining these numbers we find the remarkable fact that each of the three groups contains *six* Jizō's of this kind, which number, as we have seen above, plays an important part in the Jizō cult of Japan. *Ko-sodate* Jizō is mostly represented with a child in his lap.

It is quite logical that the "Womb of the Earth" was believed to be one of the most appropriate deities for giving easy birth and general protection to women. Jizō is also in this respect the counterpart of Kwannon, who is also considered to be a powerful protector of women and children and a giver of easy birth. We find the name of *Koyasu Kwannon* mentioned in YOSHIDA's Geographical Dictionary, Vol. I, p. 65 (near Kyōto). As to Jizō, a characteristic old custom is still prevailing in *Misaki* (三崎) village, Izumo province. In the bridal night of a new-married couple young people assemble, carry a stone image of Jizō to their house and place it before the gate. The *Fūzoku gwahō*[4], which mentions this curious custom, says that it is unknown when it sprang up, but that its meaning is said to be symbolical: the young woman must be hard, i. e. constant, like stone in keeping her chastity, and she must have love and compassion like Jizō. We are sure, however, that this

[1] *Shimotsuke kokushi*, 下野國誌, written in 1850 by KŌNO MORIHIRO, 河野守弘; Ch. VII, p. 18.
[2] *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō* (1841), Ch. XXV, Ashigara-Shimo gōri, sect. 4, p. 19.
[3] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXXVII, Butsuji bu, Nr. 15, p. 4. [4] Nr. 75 (July, 1894), p. 17.

is only a modern explanation, and that Jizō is placed there to give fertility and easy birth to the young woman. A similar custom is found in *Hamada* village, Iwami province, where in the evening of a marriage the young people carry several stone Jizō's to the house of the bridegroom. This is explained to avert divorce, because these heavy images are difficult to move, and the young people may be as steadfast as these Jizō's.[1] In my opinion, however, the real ground of this custom is the same as in Misaki.

ASTON[2], after having stated that Jizō occupies the place of the phallic gods of the roads, the *Sae* or *Sai no kami*, which stood at crossways, remarks that "the modern practice of bringing the Jizō of the neighbourhood and dumping them down before the couple is no doubt a survival (of the cult of those phallic gods)". This is very plausible and agrees with Jizō's own nature. He was the proper deity to replace the Shintō gods of fertility, and the continuation of this old custom with his images instead of with those of his predecessors is quite appropriate.

## § 2. *Jizō, the Saviour from Hell.*

### A. *Legends.*

We saw above, that in the theatrical performances given at the yearly festival of *Mibu-dera*, Emma, the King of Hell, was represented punishing the sinners, or Jizō saving the living beings.[3] All funeral processions on Kōya san stop before the image of *Indō Jizō*, who leads the souls to Paradise. This image was attributed to Kōbō Daishi, who practised a mystic Jizō doctrine, called the "Method of breaking the hells". Chisen, his nephew, by means of this doctrine saved his mother from hell[4]. *Hōyake* no Jizō in Ōsaka was called thus because he had suffered in hell as a substitute for a woman and his cheeks were burned by the *yake-kane* or "burning irons".[5] We may compare this idol with the *Black* Jizō, also called *Hitaki* (火焼) Jizō ("who kindles the fire"), the principal image of the *Nikaidō*, 二階堂, or "Two-storied Hall", in the compound of *Kakuonji*, 覺園寺, in Kamakura. This image was made by GIDŌ *oshō*, 義堂和尙,[6] and dedicated by CHINTEI *oshō*,[7] 椿庭和尙, abbot of *Kenchōji*, 建長寺, the famous Rinzai temple (founded in 1253), but in A. D. 1385 the *shitsuji*, 執事 (the chief official of the Shōgun) of Kamakura requested Bishop RAI-IN, 賴印僧正, to open its eyes and dedicate it for the second time. This Jizō was said to have assumed the shape of a "soldier of hell" (*goku-sotsu*, 獄卒) out of compassion with the sinners whom he saw suffering in hell. He kindled the fire in such a way that the flames stopped burning them. Therefore his image turned black in one night whenever it was painted in colours: it was blackened by the smoke

[1] *Fūzoku gwahō*, No. 75 (July 1894), p. 29. [2] *Shinto*, p. 191.
[3] Ch. II, § 1, p. 74. [4] Ch. II, § 2, pp. 77, 82. [5] Ch. II, § 3, p. 83.
[6] I. e. *Shūshin*, 周信, who lived A. D. 1325—1388; author of the *Nikkō shū*, 日工集.
[7] I. e. KAIJU, 海壽, who lived A. D. 1318—1401.

of hell. A great many male and female pilgrims there spent the night of the 13th of the 7th month[1]. We mention this tradition of the Kamakura period here, because we like to combine all similar ideas and tales under one heading, as we did before with the Six Jizō's, Shōgun Jizō, Koyasu Jizō and the ancient temples. As some of these tales belong to the Fujiwara period, we give them all in this chapter.

*Asekaki* or "Sweating" Jizō of the *Oku-no-in* on *Kōya san* is said to perspire every day at the hour of the snake (9—11 A. M.). According to the *Unkin zuihitsu*, 雲錦随筆[2], the reason of this fact is unknown, but another work[3], written in 1715, states that popular tradition ascribed it to the sufferings which Jizō underwent in hell as a substitute for the living beings.[4]

ONO TAKAMURA was said to have received in hell King Yama's order to make six images of Jizō[5], and one of the Six Jizō's of Kōya san led a proud priest to hell in a dream to show him all its miseries[5]. ENNŌ was taken to the hells and to Paradise by the Six Jizō's[6], and the Shintō priest KORETAKA saw them when he was erring about on the broad plain of hell, and after having been released by them he made their images.[7]

MAMMEI, 満米, who in A. D. 796 was abbot of *Yata-dera*, 矢田寺, also called *Kongō-(san) ji*, 金剛(山)寺, or "Vajra temple", in Yamato province[8], saw Jizō in hell taking sinners under his protection and requesting and obtaining them from King Yama. This is the subject of a makimono of an unknown artist of the Kasuga school, entitled *Jizō Bosatsu engi*, 地藏菩薩緣起[9], or "History of the Bodhisattva Jizō", and dating from the first half of the fourteenth century.

There are several makimono's of the Kose, Tosa and Sumiyoshi schools, with

[1] *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684), Ch. II, p. 33. Cf. *Shasekishū*, 沙石集 (written by the priest MUJŪ, 無住, who died in 1312), Ch. II a, p. 16.

[2] Written in 1861 by 曉鐘成 (Akatsuki Kanenari), Ch. I, p. 18.

[3] *Kwō-eki zokusetsu ben*, 廣益俗說辨, written in 1715 by IZAWA CHŌJŪ, 井澤長秀. Ch. XX, p. 1.

[4] The author of the *Kwō-eki zokusetsu ben* himself, however, seeks the explanation in the nature of the stone, which he compares with the *Yin* and *Yang* stones, mentioned in the *Hien ch'wang kwah-i chi* (閑窓括異志, "Bundle of strange matters from the closed window", written in the 13th century by LU YING-LUNG, 魯應龍). There we read: "In I-ling there are a *Yin* and a *Yang* stone; the former is always wet, the latter is always dry. If drought prevails the *Yin* stone and if it rains (too much) the *Yang* stone is flagellated, and always successfully." He also quotes another Chinese work, written in the T'ang dynasty, where a pencil-stand, made from a multi-coloured stone, is said to have been wet as if it sweated, whenever rain was to be expected. This reminds us of the dragon's eggs of Chinese and Japanese tales (cf. my treatise on the "*Dragon in China and Japan*", Book I, Ch. III, § 16, pp. 88 sqq., and Book II, Ch. VII, § 2, pp. 216 sqq.). The same Japanese author continues as follows: "Some say that this Jizō may have been made of a kind of stone like the *ushio-ishi* (潮石, 'tide-stone') in the temple of *Ashizuri Myōjin* in Tosa province." This was a concave stone, filled with water at high tide and empty at low tide, cf. my treatise on the Dragon, Ch. VI, § 5, p. 209.

[5] Cf. above, Ch. II, § 5, p. 85. [6] Ibidem, p. 87. [7] Ibidem, p. 88. [8] Ibidem, p. 89.

[9] *Kokkwa*, No. 180, pp. 237 sq. This temple was erected in A. D. 680 by the Hossō priest CHITSŪ, 智通, by order of the Emperor Temmu. Cf. YOSHIDA, Geogr. Dict. Vol. I, p. 220.

explaining texts of well-known men, which all relate Jizō's miracles and favourable responses to prayers, and all are based upon the Sūtra on his Original Vow. We shall treat these scrolls below, in the chapter on the Kamakura period[1] (cf. Fig. 15 and 16).



Fig. 15. Jizō, standing on a cloud, enters the gate of hell to save the suffering souls. The ox-headed demons fall with their faces upon the ground, and the souls stretch their arms towards the Bodhisattva. From a makimono pasted on a screen in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum.

The *Uji shūi monogatari*, 宇治拾遺物語[2], relates how in olden times a priest of *Kokuryūji*, 黒龍寺[3], a temple in Sakano village, Inaba province, who had completed a Jizō image which was left unfinished, revived six days after his death. Two devils of hell had seized him, but Jizō had ordered to send him back to the world of men, and had kindly shown him the way, because he was grateful to him for having finished his image.

The same work[4] gives a story, also found in the *Genkō Shakusho*[5], about the Buddhist priest GANO, 賀能, who one day took shelter for the rain in a Jizō chapel in Yokogawa no Hannya-dani ("Prajñā-valley") on Hieizan. As the roof of the chapel was dilapidated and the rain dripped upon the Jizō image, he pitied it and covered it with his own hat. After death he fell into hell, because he had committed many evil deeds, and was thrown into an iron caldron, in which his body was burned. While he was thus suffering immensely, a priest, the Jizō of Yokogawa, appeared and pulled him out of the kettle, scalding his own forehead, foot and shoulder. Then he revived and when he visited the chapel he saw that the corresponding parts of the image were burned.

"In olden times", says the same work[6], "a certain Fujiwara no Hiroki died and was summoned before King Yama's tribunal." The King said to him: "Your

[1] This makimono is preserved in Yata-dera, and wrongly attributed to Tosa Takakane.
[2] Written 1213—1218. Ch. III, K. T. K. Vol. XVII, p. 71.
[3] "Temple of the Black Dragon."
[4] Ch. V, p. 118.
[5] Ch. XXIX, K. T. K. Vol. XIV, p. 1165.
[6] *Uji shūi monogatari*, Ch. VI, p. 120.

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MAMMEI, 滿米, who in A. D. 796 was abbot of *Yata-dera*, 矢田寺, also called *Kongō-(san) ji*, 金剛(山)寺, or "Vajra temple", in Yamato province[8], saw Jizō in hell taking sinners under his protection and requesting and obtaining them from King Yama. This is the subject of a makimono of an unknown artist of the Kasuga school, entitled *Jizō Bosatsu engi*, 地藏菩薩緣起[9], or "History of the Bodhisattva Jizō", and dating from the first half of the fourteenth century.

There are several makimono's of the Kose, Tosa and Sumiyoshi schools, with

[1] *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684), Ch. II, p. 33. Cf. *Shasekishū*, 沙石集 (written by the, priest MUJU, 無住, who died in 1312), Ch. II a, p. 16.

[2] Written in 1861 by 曉鐘成 (Akatsuki Kanenari), Ch. I, p. 18.

[3] *Kwō-eki zokusetsu ben*, 廣益俗說辨, written in 1715 by IZAWA CHŌJU, 井澤長秀. Ch. XX, p. 1.

[4] The author of the *Kwō-eki zokusetsu ben* himself, however, seeks the explanation in the nature of the stone, which he compares with the *Yin* and *Yang* stones, mentioned in the *Hien ch'wang kwah-i chi* (閑窗括異志, "Bundle of strange matters from the closed window", written in the 13th century by LU YING-LUNG, 魯應龍). There we read: "In I-ling there are a *Yin* and a *Yang* stone; the former is always wet, the latter is always dry. If drought prevails the *Yin* stone and if it rains (too much) the *Yang* stone is flagellated, and always successfully." He also quotes another Chinese work, written in the T'ang dynasty, where a pencil-stand, made from a multi-coloured stone, is said to have been wet as if it sweated, whenever rain was to be expected. This reminds us of the dragon's eggs of Chinese and Japanese tales (cf. my treatise on the "*Dragon in China and Japan*", Book I, Ch. III, § 16, pp. 88 sqq., and Book II, Ch. VII, § 2, pp. 216 sqq.). The same Japanese author continues as follows: "Some say that this Jizō may have been made of a kind of stone like the *ushio-ishi* (潮石, 'tide-stone') in the temple of *Ashizuri Myōjin* in Tosa province." This was a concave stone, filled with water at high tide and empty at low tide, cf. my treatise on the Dragon, Ch. VI, § 5, p. 209.

[5] Cf. above, Ch. II, § 5, p. 85. [6] Ibidem, p. 87. [7] Ibidem, p. 88. [8] Ibidem, p. 89.

[9] *Kokkwa*, No. 180, pp. 237 sq. This temple was erected in A. D. 680 by the Hossō priest CHITSŪ, 智通, by order of the Emperor Temmu. Cf. YOSHIDA, Geogr. Dict. Vol. I, p. 220.



Fig. 15. Jizō, standing on a cloud, enters the gate of hell to save the suffering souls. The ox-headed demons fall with their faces upon the ground, and the souls stretch their arms towards the Bodhisattva. From a makimono pasted on a screen in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum.

explaining texts of well-known men, which all relate Jizō's miracles and favourable responses to prayers, and all are based upon the Sūtra on his Original Vow. We shall treat these scrolls below, in the chapter on the Kamakura period[1] (cf. Fig. 15 and 16).

The *Uji shūi monogatari*, 宇治拾遺物語[2], relates how in olden times a priest of *Kokuryūji*, 黒龍寺[3], a temple in Sakano village, Inaba province, who had completed a Jizō image which was left unfinished, revived six days after his death. Two devils of hell had seized him, but Jizō had ordered to send him back to the world of men, and had kindly shown him the way, because he was grateful to him for having finished his image.

The same work[4] gives a story, also found in the *Genkō Shakusho*[5], about the Buddhist priest GANO,賀能, who one day took shelter for the rain in a Jizō chapel in Yokogawa no Hannya-dani ("Prajñā-valley") on Hieizan. As the roof of the chapel was dilapidated and the rain dripped upon the Jizō image, he pitied it and covered it with his own hat. After death he fell into hell, because he had committed many evil deeds, and was thrown into an iron caldron, in which his body was burned. While he was thus suffering immensely, a priest, the Jizō of Yokogawa, appeared and pulled him out of the kettle, scalding his own forehead, foot and shoulder. Then he revived and when he visited the chapel he saw that the corresponding parts of the image were burned.

"In olden times", says the same work[6], "a certain Fujiwara no Hiroki died and was summoned before King Yama's tribunal." The King said to him: "Your

[1] This makimono is preserved in Yata-dera, and wrongly attributed to Tosa Takakane.
[2] Written 1213—1218. Ch. III, K. T. K. Vol. XVII, p. 71.
[3] "Temple of the Black Dragon."
[4] Ch. V, p. 118.
[5] Ch. XXIX, K. T. K. Vol. XIV, p. 1165.
[6] *Uji shūi monogatari*. Ch. VI, p. 120.



Fig. 16. Jizō, the Saviour from Hell, appears, standing upon a cloud, behind King Yama's tribunal. From the same makimono to which Fig. 15 belongs (Leiden Ethnographical Museum).

wife who died in childbed, is suffering in hell. She lodged a complaint against you, because you who committed crimes with her, did not have masses said for her soul after her death. Thus she requested me to summon you also and to cause you to suffer in the same way she does." Hiroki answered that he had been prevented by official work for his lord, but that he would copy and offer sūtras on behalf of his wife if he could get leave to return to the world of men, for if he had to suffer in hell now this would not be of any use to her. Then Yama allowed him to return, on condition that he should copy and offer sūtras on behalf of his wife. When on his way back Hiroki thought: "Who was that man who sitting behind the jewel blind (*tama no sudare*) spoke to me and gave me permission to return to the world of man? I should like to know his name." Thus he again entered the courtyard of hell and asked the man who he was. "In the world I am called Jizō Bosatsu", was the answer, whereupon Hiroki arrived at the conclusion that King Yama and Jizō Bosatsu were one and the same person. Then he revived, on the third day after his death, and soon kept his promise with regard to the sūtras and masses.

We find here the same identification of Jizō with Yama, which we noticed in the *Hokke jū-ō sandan eshō*, attributed to NICHIREN[1], where the fifth of the Ten Kings, King Yama, is said to be a manifestation of Jizō.

We read in the *Heike monogatari*, 平家物語[2], that Taira no Shigemori (Komatsu no daijin) found Fujiwara no Narichika (the Dainagon), who in A. D. 1077 had plotted against Kiyomori and had been imprisoned by the latter, lying with his face on the floor in some dark spot above the sliding-doors. The man wept bitterly, but when he heard Shigemori's voice, he looked up and was as much rejoiced as "sinners in hell when seeing Jizō Bosatsu".

The *Taiheiki*[3] (about 1382) relates how a relative of Yūki Nyūdō Michitada

[1] Cf. above, Sect II, Ch. I, § 4, p. 40.

[2] Written in 1225—1250; *Heike monogatari hyōchū* (標註), Ch. II, 上, p. 42.

[3] Ch. XX, p. 14.

dreamt that a *yamabushi*, who called himself *Rokudō nōke* (六道能化) *no Jizō Satta*, "the Bodhisattva Jizō who can convert the six gati", led him through hell and showed him the Nyūdō suffering terribly. Jizō ordered the man to warn the Nyūdō's wife and children (who did not yet know that he had died in Ise) and to admonish them to copy and offer the Hokkekyō (Saddarma pundarīka sūtra) in order to save his soul from hell. This was done accordingly, after 49 days of fasting. We find in this passage a description of the *Mugen*, 無間, or *Abi-jigoku*, 阿鼻地獄 (the Avīci hell, the last of the eight hot hells). Further, there was a magnificent Buddhist temple, with a high gate of gold and silver. The tablet of the gate bore the inscription: "Great fire-despatching temple", 大放火寺, and on that of the temple was written: "Judgment of right and wrong, 理非斷." Jizō entered this shrine, returned with the Hokkekyō in a lacquer box, and ordered the man to read part of this text.

The same work contains a curious passage on *Kongō Zō-ō Gongen*, 金剛藏王權現[1], or "Manifestation of the Vajra-Repository-king". In olden times this Gongen rose out of the ground and appeared to EN NO UBASOKU, 役優婆塞[2], who had passed a thousand days on Kimpusen, 金峯山[3], praying to see this Bodhisattva in a living shape. The Gongen appeared in the shape of Jizō, with a kind and patient face, but Ubasoku said: "If you intend to save the living beings of future ages in this shape, it will be in vain." Then the Bodhisattva flew to Ōyama in Hōki province, and appeared again, this time in an angry shape, brandishing a *sanko* (three-pointed vajra) in his right hand, and a *goko* (five-pointed vajra) in his left, and showing a demon-conquering face. This Manifestation (avatāra) of Jizō led the Hossō priest NICHIZŌ, 日藏上人[4], to King Yama's palace and showed him the six roads (*gati*) when he had suddenly died in A. D. 939. There he saw the Emperor of the Engi era (i. e. Daigo, who reigned 898—930), dressed in imperial robes but suffering like other sinners. The monarch beckoned to the priest and spoke with him weeping bitterly. After twelve days the priest revived and built a shrine for him on Mount Yoshino in Yamato province, the seat of Zō-ō Gongen[5]. The latter was, as all these Gongen are, a Shintō god, whose temple originally was called *Kane-no-mine jinja*, 金峰神社[6], but received from the Buddhists the name of *Kongō Zō-ō Gongen* or *Kongōbuji*. As to the Hossō priest NICHIZŌ, he made a special study of the secret doctrine of the Yoga school. The term "Vajra" is evidence that the name of the deity also belongs this sect. The Gongen's rising out of the ground reminds us of the *Emmyō Jizō kyō*, to be treated below, the mystic nature of which is evident.

[1] The *Taiheiki* gives the pronunciation *Za-ō*, which is probably a mistake.

[2] *Ubasoku* is the transcription of the sanscrit word *upāsaka*, male lay-member of the Buddhist church. This may be EN NO SHŌKAKU, the famous hermit and magician of the seventh century.

[3] A famous mountain in Yoshino district, Yamato.

[4] Cf. WASHIO's *Nihon Bukke jimmei jisho*, p. 961 s. v.

[5] *Taiheiki*, Ch. XXVI, p. 9.

[6] On Kimpusen (金峯山). Cf. YOSHIDA s Geogr. Dict. Vol. I, p. 295.



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The *Genkō Shakusho* (written before A. D. 1346) gives several stories about persons who died and revived after having been released from hell by Jizō. JOZŌ AMA, 如藏尼 (nun), the daughter of TAIRA NO MASAKADO, 平將門 (the famous rebel, killed in battle by Fujiwara no Hidesato in A. D. 940) after her father's death fled to Ōshū and lived there in a small house near a Buddhist temple. One day she fell ill and died, but she revived and told the following story. "I went to the palace of King Emma (Yama) and saw a large crowd of sinners in the courtyard. After a while a Buddhist priest came, with a *shakujō* (khakkhara) in his hand, and all the devils of hell fled, crying: 'Jizō Bosatsu has come! Jizō Bosatsu has come!' On hearing these words I went to Jizō and implored him to save me. Then he took me to King Emma and said to him: 'As this girl has a strong faith, please let her return for this once to the world of men.' The King answered: 'I shall obey Your Reverence's command.' Thereupon Jizō Bosatsu led me to the gate of the palace and took leave from me, saying: 'Believe in me and constantly recite my name.' After having sworn that I should believe in him with all my heart, I returned to life." She kept her word and daily recited Jizō's name, till she died at an age of more than eighty years.[1]

A Buddhist priest, named JŌSHŌ, 常照, who from childhood had worshipped Jizō, died in his 30th year, but revived after a few days. He told that two warriors (of hell) had seized and thrown him upside down into a big pit at the foot of a Black Mountain, 黑山. He arrived at King Yama's palace, but was saved by Jizō, whom he afterwards worshipped more than ever[2]. The priest ASHŌ, 阿清[3], had the same experience. He saw Jizō accompanied by *two beautiful boys*, his two young attendants mentioned above[4]. This ASHŌ was a strong ascete, as well as the priest GIMAN, 義滿[5], who lived on Kasagi san in Yamashiro province and every morning recited Jizō's name. The Bodhisattva rewarded both by causing them to revive. All these priests died at an old age, after having devoutly worshipped their mighty saviour.

According to the *Edo meisho zue*[6] the Jizō image of *Jōshinji*, 淨眞寺, or "Temple of the Pure Truth", in Okusawa village near Yedo, was made by ESHIN, the famous scholar, painter and sculptor, who lived A. D. 942—1007. This idol formerly stood on Mino san, 箕濃山, Tamba province. At the foot of this mountain lived a hunter, Ōe Shigetoki by name, a wicked, irreligious man. One day, when he sought shelter for the rain in the Jizō chapel, he saw that it was quite dilapidated and that the rain dripped upon the image. He pitied the Bodhisattva and put his own hat upon his head to cover him. After death he went to hell, but Jizō, in consequence of this virtuous

[1] *Genkō Shakusho*, K. T. K. Vol. XIV, Ch. XVIII, p. 99.
[2] *Genkō Shakusho*, Ch. XIX, p. 961. [3] Ibidem.
[4] Cf. above Sect II, Ch. I, § 3, p. 35, the picture of the *Yuh lih*.
[5] Ibidem. [6] Ch. III, p. 63.

action, underwent his sufferings in his place (as his *substitute*) and caused him to return to the world of men. This story recalls the tale about Gano, quoted above from the *Genkō Shakusho*[1].

Another hunter, Yoshifuyu by name, who was a warrior at the time of the Emperor Enyū (A. D. 969—985), was saved from hell by Jizō, because he had once respectfully taken off his hat and bowed when passing a Jizō image. After having revived he became an ascetic and a devout worshipper of the Bodhisattva[2].

All these legends show the strong belief in Jizō's mighty position in hell, where even King Yama, who was sometimes identified with him, had to bow before him and to release the culprits whom he, Jizō, wished to send back to the upper world. It is no wonder that his effigy was engraved on grave monuments, which is still done to the present day. The erection of these monuments had, however, a double aim, for Jizō was not only believed to save the souls from hell, but also *to lead them to Paradise*. The latter idea became more prominent in the Kamakura period, after the founding of the *Jōdo* sect (in A. D. 1174), when Sukhāvatī, the "Pure Land", had become the aim of all devout believers in Amida (Amitābha), the Lord of this blissful Paradise. Yet Amitābha and his Paradise were known in Japan already in the Fujiwara period, and therefore we shall treat this function of our Bodhisattva, often called *Indō Jizō*, 引導地藏, the "Leader on the Way" (to the Pure Land), in the next paragraph of this chapter. At the same time we shall speak about the grave monuments, erected on behalf of the souls of the dead in order to cause Jizō to save them from Hell and to lead them to Paradise.

B. *The Sai no kawara, and Jizō as the protector of the souls of deceased children and god of the roads.*

Before closing this paragraph we must mention the so-called *Sai no kawara* (さひの河原) *no Jizō* or "Jizō of the river beach of Sai", i. e. the Jizō who protects the souls of the little children who are forced by the old hag *Shōzuka no baba*, 三途河婆, "The old woman of the River of the Three Roads", to gather pebbles in the dry bed of the river of hell and to pile them up to form little stūpas. We have seen above[3], that the *Hokke jū-ō sandan eshō*, attributed to NICHIREN (1222—1282), states that the souls of the dead, when going from the tribunal of the first of the Ten Kings to that of the second, have to cross the *Sanzugawa*, 三途川 (also pronounced *Sōzugawa*), or "River of the Three roads", also called *Naiga*, 奈何, "What to do? (no alternative) river", because they *must* cross it in one of the three spots: the bridge, the shallow or the deep ford. The wicked, who have to pass through the turbulent waves of the deep ford, on the second seventh day after their death reach the opposite shore, where their clothes are stripped off by an old female demon, called "*Ken-i-ba*,

[1] Above, this chapter, § 2A. [2] *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki* (1684), Ch. IX, p. 1.
[3] Sect. II, Ch. I, § 4, p. 39.

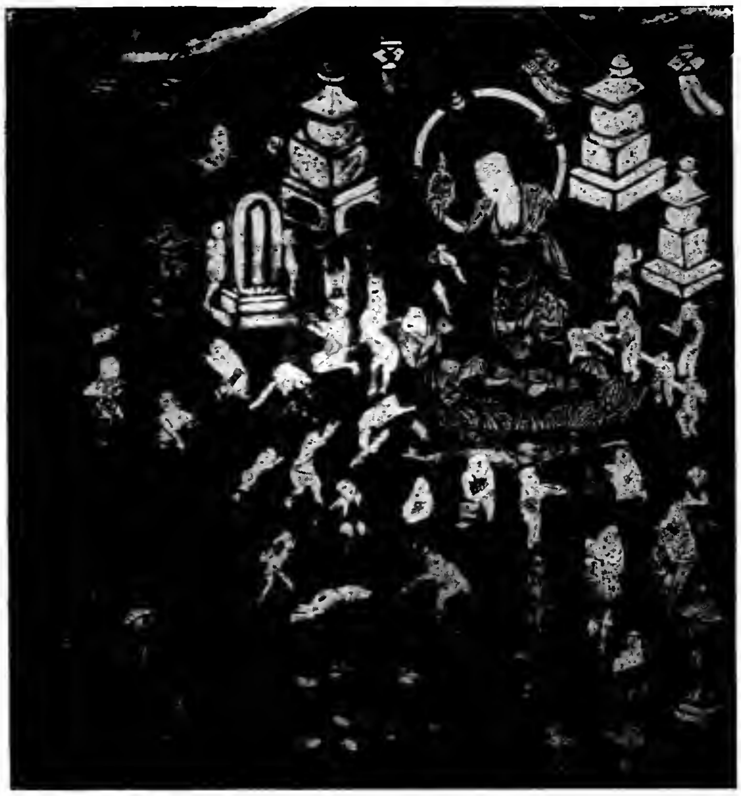


Fig. 17. Jizō, standing upon a lotus, with khakkhara and pearl, and assisting the souls of the children in hell, heaping up small stones to make stūpas. From the same makimono to which Fig. 15 and 16 belong (Leiden Ethnographical Museum).

懸衣嫗, or "The old woman who hangs up the clothes". She hands the clothes over to the *Ken-i-ō*, 懸衣翁, or "The old man who hangs up the clothes", who sits upon a tree and hangs them on the branches. Thus the sinners have to appear, nearly naked, wearing only a waistcloth, before the tribunals of the other Kings. This old hag must be the same as *Shōzuka no baba*.

WADDELL, in his *Lamaism*[1], says the following: "At the entrance of the great hell on the bank of the Hindū Styx — the Baitarāni ('The sedent queen') or 'three path' river — sits, according to one version, an old hag, a sort of Proserpina, who strips off the clothes from the new arrivals, and hangs them on a tree behind her. She is 160 feet in stature, with eyes like burning wheels, and she despatches the condemned souls along their respective roads in accordance with the judgment, but sometimes she delays them with endless tasks of *heaping up stones on the banks of the Styx*, and so prolongs their agony."

We learn from this passage, that the "old hag of the Three-path river" and the piling up of stones on the banks of this stream were not invented by the Japanese or Chinese, but were also found in Tibetan descriptions of the Buddhist netherworld. This fact points to their Indian origin. Kshitigarbha being the Saviour from Hell, it is clear that he also protects some of the souls suffering under the hands of the old hag of the Styx. Yet there are elements in the cult of Jizō with regard to this special part of hell which clearly betray their Japanese origin. The name of *Sai no kawara* is purely Japanese, as well as the idea of Jizō's assisting the *little children* who have to heap up the pebbles to construct little stūpas in the dry bed along the

[1] P. 92.

bank of the Styx. (Fig. 17). In Japan this Bodhisattva became the special protector of the departed souls of *children*. We do not know when this conception arose, for in literature no stress is laid upon this function of Jizō. Some tales, indeed, show him saving and protecting children in a miraculous way, but in many more stories adults or old people are assisted by his divine power. Yet he is now worshipped especially by parents who have to deplore the loss of children; their toys are offered in the Bodhisattva's temples, and their red bibs are hung around the necks of his stone images along the road, that he may protect their souls. He is, of course, also the protector of the souls of deceased adults, but children enjoy his special favour. When did this conception spread? Probably together with the idea of the *little children* being especially forced by the old hag to heap up the pebbles of the *Sai no kawara*. We did not find this idea or the term "*Sai no kawara*" mentioned before the beginning of the 18th century. The Genroku era (1688—1703) may be the time of their spreading among the people. Most of the grave monuments, mentioned above, date from this very time and were erected on behalf of the souls of boys or girls, as we learn from their inscriptions. This seems to be evidence of the fact that Jizō had become the special protector of the souls of deceased children.

Several Japanese authors have given their opinion concerning the origin of the expression "*Sai no kawara*". The Buddhist priest KAIKOKU, 海國, states in the *Yō-in fudan*, 櫻陰腐談[1], written in A. D. 1710, that it is not mentioned in Buddhist works, and that it is a Japanese play-word, meaning "River beach of the dice". The pebbles heaped up on the beach of the Styx were compared to the twelve white and twelve black stones on a *sugoroku*, 雙六, or backgammon board, and this game being played with dice, the beach was called "the beach of the dice". Although the word *Sai* is actually often written with the Chinese character designating dice, 賽, we need not hesitate to reject this absurd explanation. Other writers suppose it to be "the river beach of *Sai* (佐比[2])", a village in Yamashiro province. The author of the *Shiojiri*, 塩尻, the well-known work written by AMANO NOBUKAGE, 天野信景 (A. D. 1660—1733), as well as the writer of the *Kanden kōhitsu*, 閑田耕筆 (written in A. D. 1799 by KANDENRO KŌKEI, 閑田廬蒿蹊[3]), and ASAKAWA DŌSAI, 淺川洞齋, who in 1852 wrote the *Min-un sakki*, 眠雲札記, agree in quoting the *Sandai jitsuroku* and the *Engishiki* to prove that there was a burial place at this village which should have originated the expression "*Sai no kawara no Jizō son*", "Jizō of the river beach of Sai". The *Shiojiri*[4] says: "The people call the "Dark Road", 冥途 (the Netherworld), *Sai no kawara*, さひの川原. Do the sūtras say that heaping up stone stūpa's and sprinkling water upon them improves the condition of the souls (of the deceased)?" The author answers: "In Kii district, Yamashiro pro-

[1] Ch. II, p. 18. [2] *Sa-hi*.
[3] i. e. BAN SUKEYOSHI, 伴資芳.
[4] Ch. IX, p. 35 of the Ms.

vince, there is a village called *Sai*. The *Sandai jitsuroku*[1] (written in A. D. 901) states that in the 8th month of the 13th year of the Jōgwan era (A. D. 871) regulations were made and that Nether and Upper Sai were fixed as burial places for peasants. There is also a *Sai-dera*, 佐比寺, or 'Buddhist temple of Sai' mentioned in the *Engishiki* (written in A. D. 927), where we read: 'The funeral processions from Kubara again stop the coffins (i. e. make halt) at the bridge head' (of the *Sai no hashi*, 佐比橋, or 'Sai bridge', mentioned in the *Konjaku monogatari* (written before A. D. 1077) as 'a big bridge at Toba village, used from olden times to cross the Katsura-gawa'; there is still a bridge of this name there, as we learn from YOSHIDA TŌGO's Geographical Dictionary[2]). As it was formerly a burial place (at which places there used to be a shrine or a stone image of Jizō) the people may have spoken of 'Jizō of the beach of Sai' (i. e. of the beach of the Katsuragawa near the burial place of Sai), and may afterwards have thought that this expression meant 'Jizō of the Netherworld'."

This is the first passage in which we found "Jizō of the Beach of Sai" mentioned. We do not know exactly in which year it was written, but as the author lived from A. D. 1660 to 1733, the work probably dates from the first quarter of the 18th century, i. e. from shortly after the Genroku era.

In another passage of the same work[3] the author says that he heard from a Nara priest that the expression "Sai no kawara no Jizō" was due to the fact that there was from olden times an ancient stone image of Jizō on the beach of Sai. Stones were heaped up there to form little stūpas on behalf of deceased children, and masses were said for them. The Yamashiro people spoke of "the Jizō of the beach of Sai", and when this expression spread to other provinces, its sense was forgotten and the "beach of Sai" was thought to be the Netherworld.

The author of the *Kanden kōhitsu*[4] (1799) says: "There is a village of Sai in Kii district, said in the *Sandai jitsuroku* to be fixed as a burial place of peasants in the 13th year of Jōgwan. The popular saying that Sai no kawara is a spot in the Netherworld where little children assemble, and further that Jizō son converts and blesses these little ones, may have originated from the fact that there were many little stūpas of stone (or stūpas of pebbles) in that burial place."

We read the following in the *Min-un sakki*[5]: "Popular tradition says that if boys die they go to Sai no kawara, 佐比の磧, where they pile up pebbles before Jizō son and make stūpas (of these pebbles). But devils strike those stūpas with iron sticks and the boys run away weeping to Jizō son and embrace him. Then the boys

[1] K. T. K. Vol. IV, Ch. XX, p. 338: the burial places were on the beach, 河原.
[2] Vol. I, p. 140.
[3] Ch. XXX, p. 21 of the Ms.; Ch. L, p. 808 of the printed edition of 1908.
[4] Quoted in the *Enkyo zatsuwa*, 燕居雜話 (written in 1837 by HIO KEIZAN, 日尾荊山), Ch. II, *Hyakka setsurin*, 百家說林, 續編下一, p. 335, s. v. 賽河原.
[5] Ch. II, p. 15.

slowly go back again and pile the pebbles up, but the devils reappear and again destroy the stūpas, so that the work is never finished. Such are the sufferings of the Netherworld. At the present day there is in Sai village a stone image of Jizō son, and close to it there are many stūpas made of pebbles." The same author quotes a passage of the *Hokkekyō* (Saddharma pundarīka sūtra)[1], where we read: "Little boys playing together make stūpas of sand. In the same way all men (even children) can themselves complete the road to Buddhaship", and asks whether the people may have forced the meaning of these words (in creating the belief about the children piling up little stūpas on the beach of the river in hell).

Another explanation of Jizō's connection with the children of the Sai no kawara is mentioned by the author of the *Unkin zuihitsu*,[2], or "Miscellaneous writings of Cloud-brocade", who also gives the version about the burial place of Sai village. "In olden times" says he, when KŪYA SHŌNIN, 空也上人 (the famous propagator of Buddhism, who lived from A. D. 903 to 972) made a pilgrimage to *Matsuo myōjin*, 松尾明神 (the celebrated Shintō god near Kyōto) and went along the *Sai-in no kawara*, 西院の河原, crowds of children from the village playfully clung to his sleeves and staff. The very tender-hearted priest often gave them cakes and loved them, and somebody must have represented him in painting as 'Jizō of the Future world', 後世地藏菩薩. Now there is a temple of the Jōdo sect in *Sai-in* village, with an image of Jizō son. The Buddhists changed *Sai-in no kawara* into *Sai no kawara*."

These are the opinions of the Japanese authors on the origin of the expression Sai no kawara and of its connection with Jizō. We ourselves, however, are inclined to seek it also in an other direction. ASTON, in his work on *Shintō*[3], refers to HIRATA's statement about stone figures of the phallic *Sae no kami*[4], 幸神, called *Chimata no kami*, 衢神, or "Gods of the Crossways", which still in Hirata's time (A. D. 1776 to 1843) were seen in the eastern provinces, "where they were sometimes mistaken for Jizō, the Buddhist children's God, and honoured in the temples". With regard to *Dōsōjin*, 道祖神, the phallic God of Roads (the Chinese form of the Sae no kami), ASTON says the following. "I have before me a picture of a Dōsōjin. If stands at cross-roads, and is a phalloid natural boulder over which depends a *shimenaha* supported by two bamboos. In front of it are *little piles of stones*, of which the similar offerings to the Buddhist children's God Jizōsama are doubtless a survival. The modern practice of bringing the Jizō of the neighbourhood and dumping them down before the lodging of a newly-married couple is no doubt a similar case of survival. A custom which began with the Dōsōjin is continued with the Jizō, which now occupy their place at crossways."

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[1] Sect. 方便. [2] Ch. IV, p. 28.
[3] *Shinto*, p. 189.
[4] *Sai no kami*, "Gods of good luck"; this is, as ASTON, l. l. p. 195, says, "an altered conception, a vaguer and more general idea than *sahe*, which means prevention (of disease)".

Thus at the feet of the phallic gods of the roads, called Sae or Sai no kami in Japanese or designated with the Chinese term Dōsōjin, little stones were laid by the passers-by. This was not an offering, but it was done to place one's self under the god's protection by bringing into contact with him something which had been touched before by one's self[1]. The same custom of laying pebbles at the feet of the gods of the roads is found all over the world, as I formerly remarked with regard to the *Hermaia* of the ancient Greeks[2]. It is quite logical that the same old custom was continued when Jizō had taken the place of the old Shintō gods. The Buddhists, however, did not know its original meaning and invented a reason for it, suitable to Jizō's nature of protector of the souls in hell. The little heaps of pebbles may have reminded them of the small stūpas mentioned in the *Hokkekyō*, which were built up from sand by *children*, and of the heaps of stones piled up on the banks of the Three-path river in hell by the wicked souls who had fallen into the hands of the old hag. The blending of those ideas may have caused them to explain the custom of laying pebbles at Jizō's feet in such a way, that each of these pebbles meant one pebble less to be heaped up by the *children* on the beach of the Styx.

If this belief really arose in this way, Jizō must have become the special protector of the souls of children after having taken the place of the *Sae* or *Sai no kami* at crossways. And in the same time the old name of the burial place at the *Sai no kawara* may have been blended with the name of Jizō's predecessors, because Jizō in his new function of Sai no kami was believed to protect the souls of the children heaping up the pebbles on the beach of the Styx. We saw above that the Genroku era seems to be responsible for the term of "Jizō of the Sai no kawara". Therefore, if our supposition be right, the end of the seventeenth century was the time when Jizō, whose images from olden times were often placed along the roads, superseded the ancient Sae no kami, the gods of the roads, and also became the protector of children. It is, however, only a hypothesis, based upon the fact of Jizō's having replaced the Sai no kami and upon the resemblance between the name of these gods and the comparatively new name of the river beach in hell.

As to the question why Jizō superseded the phallic gods of the roads, we may refer to the passage of the *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki*, mentioned above[3], where TAIRA NO KIYOMORI (1118—1181) is said to have erected six Jizō's at the six entrances of the capital, "that the passers-by might obtain great felicity in future existences". Again, the *Gempei seisuiki* relates how SAIKŌ HŌSHI placed groups of the Six Jizō's on seven different cross-roads in Kyōtō. This happened also in the twelfth century[4]. In the Kwangen era (1243—1246) CHIBA HIDETANE erected six Jizō images *at*

[1] Cf. HARTLAND, *The Legend of Perseus*. Vol. II, pp. 205 sqq.

[2] *De Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam* (1900), pp. 80 sqq.; *Die nicht menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* (1903), pp. 102 sqq.

[3] Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5, p. 89. [4] Ibidem, p. 86.

*the roadside* on behalf of the soul of his deceased wife[1]. The Six Jizō's of Ikegame village in Higo, dating from the Tai-ei era (1521—1527), apparently formed the centre from which several roads diverged[2]. These instances show that especially the Six Jizō's were placed at the roads from the twelfth century downwards. This custom must have been the reason why Jizō in later times superseded the phallic Sae no kami.

As we stated above[3], Mr. PETRUCCI believes to have found in Turkistan traces of a cult of the Six Jizō's as well as of Kshitigarbha as a patron of travellers. Before accepting these two statements, however, we have to await Mr. PETRUCCI's further publications. But even if he is right, we are sure that Jizō's cult as a god of the roads, though having been introduced in olden times, did not become general, i. e. did not supersede the phallic Sae no kami, before the end of the seventeenth century.

### § 3. *Indō Jizō, the leader to Paradise.*

We saw above, that Jizō was worshipped as the saviour from hell; now we shall treat his function of *leader to Sukhāvatī*, the "Pure Land" of Amitābha.

As to the connection of Jizō's cult with that of Amida and Kwannon we may refer to the passage of the Buddhist Encyclopaedia *Fah-yuen shu-lin* (compiled in A. D. 668), which we quoted above[4]. This work states that the cult of Amitābha, Avalokiteçvara, Maitreya and Kshitigarbha was widely spread in China at the time of the Six Courts (A. D. 265—589). It is interesting to notice that the *Fusō ryakki*, 扶桑略紀[5], or "Abbreviated history of Japan", written about A. D. 1150, relates that JŌTŌMON-IN, 上東門院, i. e. FUJIWARA NO AKI-KO, 藤原彰子, the Consort of the Emperor Ichijō, who in A. D. 1026 became a nun and assumed the name of Jōtōmon-in, in A. D. 1030 erected a Buddhist chapel (*Jōgyōdō*, 常行堂) in which she dedicated gold-coloured images of Amida Nyorai, Kwannon, Seishi (Avalokiteçvara and Mahāsthānaprāpta, Amitābha's attendant Bodhisattva's), Jizō and Nāgārjuna, "in order to extinct evil and produce good". Nāgārjuna was the first teacher of the Amitābha doctrine, which fact was the reason of his being worshipped in connection with this Dhyānibuddha and his attendants. As to Kshitigarbha, the fact that he is mentioned together with Amitābha and Avalokiteçvara seems to indicate that he was considered to be the leader to Amitābha's paradise (in his function of saviour of the living beings) long before the Jōdo sect propagated this belief[6]. The doctrine of the Pure Land, in China also called the "Lotus-school" (*Lien-tsung*, 蓮宗) had its great teachers there already at the end of the fourth century and in the sixth

[1] Ibidem, p. 90. [2] Ibidem, p. 90. [3] Sect. I, Ch. II, § 3, p. 23.

[4] Sect. II, Ch. V, § 1, p. 55.

[5] Written about 1150 by the Buddhist priest KWŌ-EN, 皇圓, the teacher of GENKŪ, 源空, the founder of the Jōdo sect. No. 28, K. T. K. Vol. VI, p. 782.

[6] Also KŪYA SHŌNIN (903—972), mentioned above (Ch. III, § 2 B) as a second Jizō, preached Amitābha's doctrine. Even in the seventh century Shōtoku Taishi, Kōtoku Tennō and Gyōgi Bosatsu are said to have worshipped Amitābha.

and seventh[1] centuries of our era, and Kshitigarbha's cult was probably soon connected with Amitābha's and Avalokiteçvara's worship. As to Japan, before GENKŪ, 源空 (ENKŌ DAISHI, 圓光大師)[2] in 1174 founded the Jōdo sect, ESHIN (942 to 1017), whom we repeatedly mentioned above as a believer in Jizō, had already preached Amida's doctrine. This must be the reason why Jōtōmon-in worshipped Amida in connection with Jizō nearly 150 years before the founding of the Jōdo sect.

The same ESHIN, known as ESHIN SŌZU, 惠心僧都, or "Bishop ESHIN", is said to have painted a magnificent picture of Amida, accompanied by his retinue of 25 Bodhisattvas and welcoming a deceased member of the highest of the nine classes of devotees to his Paradise in the West. This painting, owned by the *Hachiman-kō*, 八幡講 (club), of the Shingon sect on Kōya san, is reproduced in TAJIMA's *Select Relics of Japanese Art*[3], where it is said to be one of the best Buddhistic paintings of the Fujiwara period. According to the *Amitāyurdhyāna sūtra*, 無量壽經, those to be taken up in Paradise (Sukhāvatī) are divided into nine classes (three upper, middle and lower classes), and Amida welcomes them correspondingly. This picture represents his manifestation for the highest grade of these nine classes. One of his Bodhisattvas, seated on the right side of the central group, quite near to Amida, is a priest without a halo but with an urṇa and a very white and gentle face, whereas his breast is partly left bare by his sacerdotal garment. As he bears a blazing pearl in his left, and makes the *abhayamudrā* with his right hand, we need not ask his name. It is Jizō, called *Muhenshin*, 無邊身, or "Limitless body", i. e. *Ananta-kāya*, a title of Kshitigarbha on account of the limitlessness of his shapes (Fig. 18).

TAJIMA's Japanese text states that these 25 Bodhisattvas are relatives (*kenzoku*, 眷屬) of Amida, leading a deceased believer, belonging to the highest of the three upper classes, to Paradise. Of the nine Bodhisattvas represented on the right hand, TAJIMA gives the names of five, omitting the four others. He apparently used the *Butsuzō zuī*[4] in fixing the names. HOFFMANN, whose translation of and commentary on this useful Japanese work forms the fifth volume of VON SIEBOLD's *Nippon*, entitled "*Pantheon von Nippon*", wrongly enumerates these 25 Bodhisattvas as if the two represented on the right side of each page of the *Butsuzō zuī* precede those on the left side, instead of being divided into two upper and two lower figures. In this way in HOFFMANN's work the logical order is upset and his numbers are wrong. Thus *Kwannon* and *Seishi* are Nrs. 62 and 64 of his Tab. XII, *Yaku-ō* and *Yakujō*, 藥王藥上, although belonging together, are Nrs. 63 and 65. *Fugen* and *Monju* (the latter called *Hō-jizai-ō*, 法自在王, "Independent King of the Law") are

[1] At the beginning of the T'ang dynasty the priest SHEN-TAO, 善導, wrote a commentary on the sacred texts concerning Amitābha, and propagated his cult.

[2] A. D. 1133—1212.

[3] Vol. IV, Pl. VIII. Cf. *Kokkwa*, Vol. 232, Pl. I and III, pp. 67 sqq., *Buddhism and Japanese Art*, Part III, by SEI-ICHI TAKI.

[4] Vol. II, pp. 9 sqq.



Fig. 18. Amida and his 25 Bodhisattvas welcoming a soul of the highest rank of holiness. At his left hand Jizō is seated, carrying the precious pearl in his left and making the abhayamudrā with his right hand. Central group of the famous picture on Kōya san, attributed to ESHIN SOZU (942—1017). TAJIMA, *Select Relics* Vol. IV, Pl. VIII; *Kokkwa* Nr. 232, Pl. III.

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Fig. 19. Muhenshin Bosatsu, i. e. Jizō, one of Amida's 25 Bodhisattvas. *Butsuzō zuï* II, p. 12a.

Nrs. 66 and 68. Following the *Butsuzō zuï* itself instead of HOFFMANN's translation, we further find *Darani*, 陀羅尼 (Dhāraṇī) placed side by side with *Byakuzō-ō*, 白象王 ("White Elephant-King"), *Kokūzō*, 虛空藏 (Ākāçagarbha) combined with *Hōzō*, 寶藏 (Ratna-garbha), *Tokuzō*, 德藏 ("Repository of Virtue") and *Konzō*, 金藏; *Kwōmyō-ō*, 光明王 ("Brilliant Light-King"), is seen next *Kongōzō*, 金剛藏 (Vajragarbha), *Sankai-e*, 山海惠 ("Mercy [large as] mountains and seas"), next *Kegon*, 華嚴 (Avataṃsaka); *Nisshō-ō*, 日照王 ("King Moonshine"), is combined with *Gwakkwō-ō*, 月光王 ("King Sunlight"), *Shuhō-ō*, 衆寶王 ("King of all treasures") with *Sammai*, 三昧 (Samādhi); then follow *Shishiku*, 獅子吼 ("Lion's howl", Siṃhanāda) and *Jōjizai-ō*, 定自在王 ("Samādhi-Independent King"), *Dai Itoku*, 大威德 ("Great Majesty and Virtue") and *Daijizai-ō*, 大自在王 ("Great Independent King"). The twenty fifth, *Muhenshin*, 無邊身 ("Limitless Body"), stated in the text to be Jizō, is represented as a benevolent priest, standing upon a lotus, with the precious pearl in his left and the khakkhara in his right hand (Fig. 19). There are however, three Bodhisattvas more, although the group is called "The 25 Bodhisattvas", namely *Myō-on*, 妙音 ("Beautiful Sound"), placed next to Jizō, *Mujin-i*, 無盡意 ("Unexhaustible Will"), and *Mangetsu*, 滿月 ("Full Moon").[1]

[1] TAJIMA, apparently following the figures of the *Butsuzō zuï*, enumerates five of the nine Bodhisathas on the right side: *Kongōzō* (playing the harp), *Kwōmyō-ō* (playing the lyre), *Yaku-ō* (holding up the precious banner), *Sankai-e* (playing the lyre) and *Kokūzō* (Ākāçagarbha) (beating the hand-drum). In the centre *Kwannon* (kneeling and bearing with both hands the lotus seat for the arriving soul, and *Daiseishi* (Mahāsthānaprāpta), joining his hands in praise, precede Amida. On the right side of this central group we see *Muhenshin* (Jizō), holding the cintāmaṇi and making the abhayamudrā; behind him *Sammai-ō* (holding the flower basin), *Jō-jizai-ō* (beating the big drum), *Nisshō-ō* (beating the bell-drum), *Gwakkwō-ō* (striking another kind of drum) and *Shishiku* (playing the flageolet). On the left side of the central group the Bodhisattva with the two lotus flowers is considered by TAJIMA to be *Hō-jizai-ō* (i. e. *Monju*), apparently because this Bodhisattva is represented in the *Butsuzō-zuï* carrying a string of such flowers. But in my opinion *Monju*'s place must be at Çākyamuni's side, as well as that of *Fugen*, because this is the ordinary place of Manjuçrī and Samantabhadra. Then follow two priests, seated behind Amida, one of whom joins his hands in adoration, while the hands of the other,

All these 28 Bodhisattvas are found in ESHIN's picture, and beyond these one Buddha (*Çākyamuni*, on the left hand, between Fugen and Monju) and two priests. Who are those two priests, seated behind Amida, quite near to him, on the left side? One of them is joining his hands in adoration, while the hands of the other, disappearing behind Amida's halo, probably are held up in the same way. In PETRUCCI's opinion[1] they are Jizō figures too, and all the six shapes of the Six Jizō's are represented among Amida's retinue. In this case the three additional Bodhisattvas of the *Butsuzō zuī* should be three shapes of Jizō, although this is not stated by the Japanese author. In the central group of the picture, however, we see only *five* figures in Amida's immediate neighbourhood, namely the priest-shaped Jizō (*Muhenshin*, seated on the right side, with the blazing pearl and the Abhayamudrā), the two other mysterious priests, and two Bodhisattvas (wearing the Bodhisattva crown). One of the latter, seated on the right side, is carrying a flower basin, for which reason TAJIMA calls him *Sammai-ō*, "Samādhi King", in accordance with a similar figure in the *Butsuzō zuī*[2]. The other Bodhisattva, seated on the left side, in front of the two priests, is wrongly called *Hō-jizai-ō* (i. e. *Monju*) by TAJIMA, who did not recognize the preaching Buddha, Çākyamuni, seated in the left group with Monju and Fugen at his sides. Probably we have to deal with *Dai-itoku*, who is also carrying lotus flowers in the *Butsuzō zuī*. The fact that the central group contains only five, instead of six figures seated near Amida, makes me think that there is but *one* Jizō, the two Bodhisattvas *Sammai-ō* and *Dai-itoku*, and two priests, not identical with Jizō.

On considering Mr. PETRUCCI's provisional explanation of the two priests accompanying Amitābha in the embroidery from Turkestan, mentioned above[3], as the benignant and the malignant (i. e. demon-expelling) genii of the Buddha, the question

disappearing behind Amida's halo, probably are held up in the same way. TAJIMA does not know their names or meaning, and the *Butsuzō zuī* does not mention them. *Byakuzō-ō*, *Tokuzō* and *Hōzō* are playing three different flutes, while behind them *Shūhō-ō* is beating the cymbals.

Of the left group *Yakujō* carries a precious banner, *Kegon* strikes with two little hammers a square, standing instrument called *hō-kyō* or "square sound"; as to the five remaining figures, TAJIMA does not know their names, but mentions as other Bodhisattvas (represented in the *Butsuzō zuī*) *Fugen, Darani, Konzō, Daiitoku* and *Daijizai*. It is queer that he did not recognize the preaching Buddha, *Çākyamuni*, with *Monju* and *Fugen* at his sides. Instead of *Monju*, *Daiitoku*, who carries two lotus flowers in the *Butsuzō-zuī*, must have his seat in the central group, in front of the two mysterious priests. Of the six remaining Bodhisattvas, the two on the left are probably *Darani* and *Konzō*, although they are playing the drum and another instrument in the picture, the *Butsuzō zuī* representing them in a different way. I suppose them to be placed on the left side, because nearly all the Bodhisattvas there or on the left side of the central group are found on the same pages (9 b and 10 a) of the *Butsuzō zuī*. If this is right, the four Bodhisattvas on the background of the right group must be *Daijizai* and the three additional Bodhisattvas of the *Butsuzō zuī*, namely *Myō-on, Mujin-i* and *Mangetsu*. Thus the picture gives Çākyamuni, the 28 Bodhisattvas of the *Butsuzō zuī*, and two priests. The latter may be Amida's genii, if Mr. PETRUCCI's explanation of the Twen-hwang embroidery proves to be right.

[1] L. l., p. 205.

[2] P. 11 a; HOFFMANN, Tab. XIII, fig. 81.

[3] Sect. I, Ch. II, § 3, p. 23.



Fig. 20. A Buddhist priest, standing upon two lotus flowers and joining his hands in adoration (Jizō) among the retinue of Amida, welcoming a holy soul. One of the six door leaves of a portable shrine in the *Zenrinji* at Kyōto. TAJIMA, *Select Relics*, Vol. I, Pl. XIV, 2.

rises whether perhaps a similar idea is hidden behind the two priests on the left side of the central group of Eshin's picture. I say "hidden", for it is difficult, indeed, to believe that one of these harmless, benevolent looking priests should be a menacing, evil-suppressing genius. But if PETRUCCI's opinion, based upon inscriptions of the STEIN expedition, proves to be right and is maintained by him after having studied all the inscriptions now in his hands, the two priests of our Japanese picture are perhaps to be explained in the same way. For the present, however, it is still very doubtful.

These 25 Bodhisattvas are also represented in painting on the *door leaves* of a portable shrine in the *Zenrinji*, 禪林寺, an important Jōdo temple at Kyōto. Two of these six door leaves are reproduced in TAJIMA's splendid work, mentioned above[1], and on the second a Buddhist priest is seen, standing upon two lotus flowers, with a round glory behind his head, and his hands joined in adoration. TAJIMA calls him *Muhenshin* (Ananta-kāya), i. e. Jizō, but it may also be one of the two genii, mentioned above, because the attitude of his hands is similar to that of the two priests in ESHIN's painting. As only one of the six leaves are reproduced, we do not know whether the second priest is also represented on these doors. As to the painter of this beautiful piece of art, he is said to be KOSE KANAOKA, 巨勢金岡, who in the middle of the ninth century founded the Kose school. TAJIMA, however, declares this tradition to be false, and supposes it to be the work of TOSA TSUNETAKA, 土佐經隆, i. e. Fujiwara Tsunetaka, Tosa Gon no kami, the celebrated founder of the Tosa school, who lived in the twelfth century (Fig. 20).

Two similar priests are seen standing behind Amida among his retinue of Bodhisattvas, on one of the two scrolls (*makimono*) containing historical pictures of the Taema mandara (maṇḍala). Amida is represented there welcoming Fujiwara Toyonari's daughter Chūjō-hime (753—781), who had become a nun in Taema-dera and to whom the magnificent "Taema-mandara" is attributed. She is said to have had a devout belief in Amida. The makimono representing Amida welcoming

[1] Vol. I, Pl. XIV, 2.



Fig. 21. Jizō in Amida's Heaven, the Western Paradise (Sukhāvatī). From the same makimono to which Fig. 15—17 belong (Leiden Ethnographical Museum).

her to Paradise is also reproduced by TAJIMA[1], who hesitates to fix its date, although it has been attributed to SUMIYOSHI KEION, 住吉慶恩, who lived in the thirteenth century.

The same priests, both standing and joining their hands in adoration, belong to Amida's retinue in another magnificent painting of the Takuma school, probably dating from the eleventh century, not long after TAMEUJI's and TAMENARI's time. But Jizō with the pearl and the abhayamudrā is not there, nor is he visible in the former picture[2].

As Jizō in ESHIN's painting appears among Amida's retinue, he was apparently believed to live in Amida's Paradise, Sukhāvatī (cf. Fig. 21). This agrees with the Chinese tales describing his beautiful palace in this paradise[3]. In the story about the priest Giman, however, found in the *Genkō Shakusho*, he is called "the Bodhisattva who lives in the *South*", whereas the Pure Land lies in the *West*[4]. Also the Sūtra on the Ten Wheels says that he and all the Bodhisattvas related with him *came from the South* to the Bhagavān's assembly. As to the mandala of the Taizō-kai, of the Yoga school, we learned above[5] from the Mahāvairocana sūtra (Dai Nichi kyō), that Ākāçagarbha's place is in the West, but that of Kshitigarbha in the *North* (on the Yaksha side). The *Taiheiki*[6] (about 1382) states that Jizō, after having received Çākyamuni's doctrine, was attached to, i. e. became an inhabitant of, the *Trāyastrimçat heaven*, and that he, being a "Great Leader", 大導師 (to salvation), was called with

[1] Vol. VI, Pl. XVI, 2.
[2] *Kokkwa*, No. 61, Pl. II, p. 238 sq.
[3] Cf. above Sect. II, Ch. IV, § 1, p. 52.
[4] Ch. XIX, p. 961, cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. IV, § 1, p. 53.
[5] Above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5, p. 19.
[6] Ch. XVIII, p. 19.



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Çākyamuni and Maitreya the "Three Holy Ones", 三聖. We learn from these passages that there were different ideas about Jizō's residence.

In our paragraph on the Six Jizō's we referred to a passage of the *Genkō Shakusho*[1], where FUJIWARA NO TSUNEZANE's young consort was said to have requested her mother to make Six Jizō's for her instead of seven Yakushi's, because she felt that her death was near. Yakushi Nyorai, the "Medicin- master" (Bhaishajyaguru) could not cure her any more, but Jizō could save her from hell and lead her to paradise. And he truly did so, for after the six Jizō's had been made and the abbot Jōsan of Hieizan had prayed to the Bodhisattva on behalf of the young woman's soul, a purple cloud came floating to the window of her room, a delicious smell filled the house, and she died gently, turned to the West, with her hands joined in prayer[2].

From a passage of the *Kazusa kokushi*[3] we learned that CHIBA HIDETANE in the Kwangen era (A. D. 1243—1246) on behalf of his deceased wife erected six Jizō images at the roadside near a village, afterwards called *Roku Jizō mura*[4].

*Indō Jizō*, the "Leader" (to Paradise), was the name of the image of a chapel in the compound of Tengyō-in, Tennōji village, Settsu province. This idol was also called *Mitsu-kane Jizō*, "Three-bells Jizō", because the bell of the chapel was rung thrice when funeral processions passed it and arrived at the cemetery. This was, at least, the custom in the Genroku era, at the end of the 17th century[5].

Another *Indō Jizō* is attributed to Kōbō Daishi. All funeral processions on Kōya san stop before this image and pray to Jizō to lead the dead to the Pure Land; then they continue their way to the cemetery[6].

On the grave of the Soga brothers (killed in A. D. 1193) in Ashikaga-shimo district, Sagami province, there are two *gorin no sekitō*, stone stūpas composed of five layers. A Jizō figure is engraved on both of them, and a Sanscrit character is seen on each side of the square stone base[7].

At the grave of TAKEDA ARIYOSHI, 武田有義, a son of Yoritomo's general Nobuyoshi (1138—1186), was a shrine, called *Jizō-in*, 地藏院, with a stone image of Jizō. This was at Fuchū (府中) village, Kai province[8].

On the back of a stone Jizō at Kurashina (倉科) village, in the same province, where the Ōmura family had her residence, this inscription was seen: "Grave of Ōmura, Lord of Iga". This was a vassal of the Takeda family, who lived in the Tenshō era (1573—1591)[9].

The principal idol of *Hōjuji*, 寶樹寺, in *Iida* (飯田) village, Yamanashi district,

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1 Ch. XVIII, K. T. K., Vol. XIV, p. 941.
2 Above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5, p. 88.
3 Ch. VI, p. 3. 4 Above, Ch. II, § 5, p. 90.
5 Above, Ch. I, § 2, p. 66. 6 Above, Ch. II, § 2, p. 77.
7 *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō*, Ch. XXIX, Ashikaga-shimo gōri, Sect. VIII, p. 37.
8 *Kaikokushi* (1814), Ch. LXXIII, Butsuji-bu, Nr. I, p. 6.
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Kai province, was also a stone Jizō, six shaku high. It was the grave post (墓標, bohyō) of IIDA TORAHARU, 飯田虎春, who died in A. D. 1575[1].

The famous Rinzai temple *Kenchōji*, 建長寺, at Kamakura was dedicated by the fifth Shikken, HŌJŌ TOKIYORI, 北條時頼, on the 25th day of the 11th month of the 5th year of the Kenchō era (1253). A large Jizō image was made its *honzon* or principal idol, and a thousand other images of the same Bodhisattva were also placed there. TOKIYORI, after having carefully written a prayer[2] to Jizō, composed by SHIGEMORI, 茂範, ordered DŌRYŪ[3], 道隆, the celebrated Chinese Zen priest, who became the abbot of the temple, to take the leadership of the ceremony of dedication. On the same day (the 25th) Tokiyori partly read the "Mahāyāna sūtra of five sections"[4] before Jizō and offered it to him, that he might give a *long life* to the Emperor Go-Fukakusa, the Shōgun Munetaka Shinnō and to the latter's chief vassals, as well as *Great Peace to the Realm*[5]. Further, *masses were said on behalf of the departed souls* of the three Shōguns Yoritomo, Yoriie and Sanetomo, of Nii dono (Yoritomo's consort) and of the members of the Hōjō family.[6]



Fig. 22. Jizō with precious pearl. A grave monument of a boy who died in 1738.

We see Jizō here worshipped in a temple of the *Zen* sect as a giver of long life and peace to the living, and as a saviour and leader of the dead. Another Zen temple of Jizō, called *Jizōji*, was founded by SŌKYŌ, 宗鏡 (A. D. 1290—1374), a Zen priest whose proper names were SHŪKYŌ and HEKITAN[7], and who was a descendant of the Hōjō family. When he was born, his mother had a lucky dream, and after his birth the people called him a *reincarnation of Jizō Bosatsu*. After having grown up, he followed the teachings of the Zen priest SHŌKAKU, 正覺, and practised the Law. He stood in high favour with the Emperor GODAIGO, who asked him about the Law when visiting the *Byōdō-in*, 平等院, of *Uji*, 宇治. The Great Shōgun ASHI-

[1] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXXII, Butsuji-bu, Nr. X, p. 1.
[2] 願文, gwammon. [3] He lived 1214—1278. [4] 五部大乘經, Gobu no Daijōkyō.
[5] 太平, Taihei.
[6] *Kōtei zōho Azuma kagami*, "Azuma kagami (written shortly after A. D. 1266) explained and enlarged". Ch. XLIII, p. 47 (11th month of Kenchō 5).
[7] 周皎 and 碧潭; the former name was his 名, the latter his 字.

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Fig. 22. Jizō with precious pearl. A grave monument of a boy who died in 1738.

We see Jizō here worshipped in a temple of the *Zen* sect as a giver of long life and peace to the living, and as a saviour and leader of the dead. Another Zen temple of Jizō, called *Jizōji*, was founded by SŌKYŌ, 宗鏡 (A. D. 1290—1374), a Zen priest whose proper names were SHŪKYŌ and HEKITAN[7], and who was a descendant of the Hōjō family. When he was born, his mother had a lucky dream, and after his birth the people called him a *reincarnation of Jizō Bosatsu*. After having grown up, he followed the teachings of the Zen priest SHŌKAKU, 正覺, and practised the Law. He stood in high favour with the Emperor GODAIGO, who asked him about the Law when visiting the *Byōdō-in*, 平等院, of *Uji*, 宇治. The Great Shōgun ASHI-

[1] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXXII, Butsuji-bu, Nr. X, p. 1.

[2] 願文, gwammon. [3] He lived 1214—1278. [4] 五部大乘經, Gobu no Daijōkyō.

[5] 太平, Taihei.

[6] *Kōtei zōho Azuma kagami*, "Azuma kagami (written shortly after A. D. 1266) explained and enlarged". Ch. XLIII, p. 47 (11th month of Kenchō 5).

[7] 周皎 and 碧潭; the former name was his 名, the latter his 字.



Fig. 23. Jizō with precious pearl. A grave monument erected in the Genroku era (1688—1703) or somewhat later.

KAGA YOSHIAKIRA, 足利義詮 (1330—1368) requested him to *celebrate services for his mother's soul* for a hundred days. Also HOSOKAWA YORIYUKI, 細川頼之, learned the doctrine from this Zen priest and erected a *Jizō Zenji* or "Zen temple of Jizō" in the Western part of the Capital, which he had dedicated by Sōkyō himself[1].

In A. D. 1317 MAKI TOMOTADA, 牧奉忠, erected a *Jizō-in* at Tatsuta, Owari province, in order to pray there for his deceased wife's soul[2].

In the history of *Tōdaiji*, 東大寺, the famous Kegon temple at Nara, we read the following story. When Shigehira by order of his father Kiyomori in 1180 had burned down the great Buddha hall of this temple, Yoritomo had it rebuilt in 1195 by YUKITAKA, 行隆. This man was a devout believer in Jizō. After his early death his only daughter, still a child, was so much distressed, that she wrote a letter to her father and tied this to the hand of his tutelary Jizō image. Then she prayed: "Jizō sama, you, who convert the Six gati and the nine worlds, you are sure to know the place where my father is. Please give him this letter and bring me his answer." Thereupon she prayed and wept before the image day and night. And behold, in the morning of the seventh day, her letter had disappeared and her father's answer was actually in Jizō's hand. In 1675, when the *Nanto meisho shū* was written, this document was still preserved in the *Sōji-in*, 惣持院, at Nara, and the image was worshipped there under the name of *Fumitsukai* (文使) *no Jizō* or "Letter delivering Jizō".[3]

In 1549 the general SHIONOYA YOSHITSUNA erected a stone image of Jizō on behalf of the soul of his father, who died in 1546.[4]

The idea of the souls of the dead ascending Mount *Higane*[5] in Izu province, to take their refuge to the well-known Jizō who has his temple on the top of this mountain, is found in a story from of A. D. 1582, mentioned in the *Zōtei Zushū shikō*, 増訂豆州志稿[6]. The soul of a little girl was thought to have been seen going up the

[1] *Garan kaikiki* (1689), Ch. VIII, p. 20.
[2] *Owari meisho zue*, 尾張名所圖會, written in 1841 by OKADA KEI, 岡田啓. Ch. IV, p. 27.
[3] *Nanto meisho shū*, Ch. II, p. 7. [4] Cf. below, Ch. III, § 5. [5] 日金山.
[6] Written in 1895 by HAGIWARA MASAO, 萩原正夫; the original work, the *Zushū shikō* was written in 1800 by AKIYAMA AKIRA, 秋山章. Ch. XI, 上, p. 8.

mountain, and a devil of hell had caught her halfway! But the latter proved to be the priest of the Jizō shrine, and the girl was not a soul but the living daughter of the priest, who went home in the evening and was attacked by a wild animal, when her father, who had descended halfway to meet her, saved her in time and killed the animal.

We read in the history of Jizō Bosatsu cf *Kōzanji*, 耕山寺, written in the Kwambun era (1661—1672) by SOGEN, 疎玄, superior of this temple, that MISAKA TAKAKAGE, 三坂隆景, lord of Echizen, lost both his sons on the battlefield of *Miharu tsuneba*, 三春常葉 (A. D. 1588) and had them buried on the cemetery of Kōzanji. Then they appeared to their parents in dreams and said that they had died so young because they had not practised Buddha's doctrine, and that they now had fallen into hell and suffered heavily day and night. They requested their parents to make a Jizō image and to dedicate this in Kōzanji, in order to save them from their sufferings. Thereupon the parents erected the image, known as the Jizō of Kōzanji. They hoped, of course, that this Bodhisattva not only might release their sons from hell, but also lead them to paradise[1].



Fig. 24. Jizō, standing upon a lotus, with a rosary in his hands. Grave monument of a woman who died in 1700. Leiden Ethnographical Museum.

At the time of the author of the *Garan kaiki ki* (1689) the six Jizō's near the capital were visited on the 24th day of the 7th month by many pilgrims, who went about in procession, beating bells and drums and reciting *Amida's* holy name[2]. Thus Amida's and Jizo's cults were combined.

In 1745 a woman from Iidamachi, Yedo, called Yokoyama Take, erected a large Jizō image made of bronze on Kōya san, where she had made a pilgrimage

[1] *Rōō chawa*, 老媼茶話, "Tea talks of old women", written in 1742 by MISAKA DAIYATA, 三坂大彌太, *Kinsei kidan zenshū*, 近世奇談全集, *Zoku Teikoku bunko*, Nr. 47, p. 319.
[2] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5, p. 86.



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[2] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5, p. 86.




Fig. 25. Jizō as one of the "Secret Buddhas" of the 30 days of the month (the 24th day). Above the Lanca sign for the syllable *ha*, attributed to him by the Shingon sect, is given. *Butsuzō zui* III, p. 4 b.

after the death of her husband, carrying his white bones in a box hanging on her neck[1]. When passing the night in the *nyonindō*, 女人堂, or "Women hall" on Kōya san, Jizō appeared to her in a dream, and this caused her to erect the Bodhisattva's image on behalf of her husband's soul[2].

Not only for *human* souls, but also for those of *animals* masses were said and Jizō images erected. When in 1826 two horses had died in a village near Shitsunomura, 志津野村, Mino province, all the owners of horses contributed for having two Jizō images made and services held on behalf of their souls. These horses had been possessed by the *gipa*, a special demon, and no moxa's had cured them. The two Jizō's were made of stone and were of a man's height. They were placed in the field, and whoever had a sick horse went there to pray to them, for they were believed to be powerful in curing horses[3].

Jizō's effigy was very often engraved on grave monuments, which is still done at the present day. When during the night of the 23th of December 1910 in Ōkubo village near Tōkyō a woman with her two children had been murdered by thieves, the people had a stone Jizō carved and erected in Sempukuji, 専福寺, at Ōkubo, on behalf of their souls. The ceremony of opening the eyes took place on the 29th of January 1911; the shape of the image was the same as that of Nihon-enoki, Shiba district. A great many grave monuments of the Genroku era (1688—1703), which of late were sent to Europe, show Jizō's figure between the date of the death of the persons (most boys, girls or women) on behalf of whose souls they were erected, and their posthumous name. On these monuments Jizō is always represented as a priest, standing upon a lotus, and mostly with a khakkhara in his right, a precious pearl in his left hand. But there are also monuments on which he only carries a precious pearl in his folded hands (Fig. 22 and 23), or a rosary (Fig. 24), or cymbals, or (on an archaic one) a lotus in his left, while his right hand is making the abhaya-

[1] She wished to have her husband's bones buried in the *kotsudō* or "hall of bones" on Kōya san, near Kōbō Daishi's grave.

[2] *Kōya-san hitori annai meirei shū*, 高野山獨案内名靈集, written in 1897 by TENGANSHI, 天眼子, p. 8.

[3] *Shōzan chomon kishū*, 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849 by MIYOSHI SHŌZAN, 三好想山, Kinsei kidan zenshū, Zoku Teikoku bunko Nr. 47, p. 415.

mudrā (lifted with the open palm in front), to bestow fearlessness upon his worshippers[1]. Sometimes the mystic character (the Lanca sign *ha*), used by the Tantric school (the Shingon sect) to designate this Bodhisattva[2], is seen above Jizō's head (cf. Fig. 25). This was the case with a monument on which he was represented with cymbals in his hands. Another, without names or dates, shows two standing Jizō's, one in the ordinary form of a priest with a pearl and a khakkhara, the other in his older shape of a Bodhisattva, with the Bodhisattva crown upon his head, a lotus in his left and a khakkhara in his right hand[3]. The erection of these grave monuments had a double aim, namely to cause Jizō, under whose protection the dead were placed in this way, to save them from hell as well as to lead them to paradise.




Fig. 26. Jizō, to be invocated on the 35th day after death. *Butsuzō zui* IV, p. 7b.

As to masses to be held for the dead we may mention the *Butsuzō zui* (IV, p. 7b, our Fig. 26), where Jizō (in the shape of a priest, seated with his legs crossed on the lotus, with a halo, pearl and khakkhara) is represented as the fifth of the 13 deities to be invocated after the death of a relative. On the 7th day Fudō, on the 14th Shaka, on the 21st Monju, on the 28th Fugen, on the 35th Jizō, on the 42nd Miroku, on the 48th Yakushi, on the 100th Kwannon, on the first anniversary of the death Seishi, on the third anniversary Amida, on the seventh Ajuku, and further, without fixed dates, Dai Nichi and Kokūzō (Ākāçagarbha).

§ 4. *Jizō suffering or working as a substitute for his worshippers.*

We related above[4] how *Kubikire Jizō*, an image at Anryū-machi, Settsu province, ascribed to GYŌGI BOSATSU, saved the priest Junrei's life by suffering his head to be cut off by robbers as a substitute for this priest himself. Further, the Jizō of *Mibu* saved one of Nitta Yoshisuke's rebels by having himself bound and thrown into prison in his place[5]. Again, *Hōyake no Jizō* of Seshū-in in Ōsaka underwent the punishment of the *yake-kane* or "burning irons" as a substitute for a woman[6],

[1] Cf. above, Fig. 4, Sect. I, p. 21.

[2] Fig. 25; cf. *Butsuzō zui*, III, p. 4 b, where he is mentioned among the "Secret Buddhas (i. e. the deities worshipped by the Shingon sect) of the 30 days" (of the month), 三十日秘佛. His day is the 24th, as we stated before.

[3] Cf. above, Fig. 2, Sect. I, p. 14.

[4] Ch. I, § 5, p. 72. [5] Ch. II, § 1, p. 75. [6] Ch. II, § 3, p. 83.

and an other Jizō image, which stood in a shrine on Ōyama, was said to have taken the place of a stag shot by a hunter, who found his arrow sticking in this Jizō's body[1]. Jizō of *Jōshinji* in Okusawa village, attributed to ESHIN, suffered in hell as a substitute for a hunter who one day had covered this image with his hat, because the rain dripped upon it through the roof of its chapel[2]. *Asekaki Jizō* on Kōya san was said to perspire every day at the hour of the snake on account of the sufferings which he underwent in hell as a substitute for the living beings[3].

A woman in Koshima, Mino province, who devoutly believed in Jizō, constantly prayed to get an image of this Bodhisattva. One day she picked up an old wooden Jizō, about one *shaku* five *sun* long, from the river before her house. She rejoiced greatly because her wish was fulfilled, and prayed to it every morning and evening. She got one child, but when the little boy was four years old, she died. Her husband took a second wife, a most cruel woman, who ill-treated her stepchild in a terrible way. One day when the man was absent — it happened in Anwa 3, i. e. A. D. 970 — the boy, who from his own mother had learned to pray to Jizō, took a little rice from the vessel in which his stepmother soaked rice in water to prepare sake, and weeping bitterly he offered it to Jizō and to his mother's *ihai* (soul tablet). But the cruel woman, on discovering him kneeling before the image and the tablet and laying the rice before them, flew into such a passion that she threw the poor boy into a kettle and cooked him over the fire. At the same time the father, who was on the road, suddenly by a vague confusion of his mind was forced to return home. At once he heard the laments of his child, and when he listened where the sound came from, he saw a Buddhist priest, about 40 years old, with a little boy on his back, standing by the roadside. At his question what child this was, the bonze answered: "I have given myself as a substitute for this child, when its stepmother was about to kill it. Now I have taken it with me. You must put it under the care of other people and have them educate it." Then he handed the boy over to the father, who embraced it in great fright. When he asked the priest where he lived, the latter replied: "Near *Zō-ō-in*, 藏王院 (the "Temple of the Repository King") and suddenly disappeared as if he were wiped away. The father followed the priest 's advice and after having intrusted his little son to other people went home. There he found his wife kindling the fire under the kettle, but when she saw her husband she at once extinguished it and was quite confused. "Where is the boy", asked the man, and she answered: "Under pretext that he went playing he ran away, threw himself into the river and was drowned". But the father took the cover from the kettle and saw the old Jizō image lying in it; it had saved his child by giving itself as a substitute. The man wept bitterly and giving up domestic life became a monk, henceforth worshipping Jizō with all his heart[4].

[1] Ch. II, § 3, p. 83. [2] Ch. III, § 2, A. [3] Ch. III, § 2, A.
[4] *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki* (1684), Ch. VIII, p. 17.

The name of Jizō's temple, *Zō-ō-in*, reminds us of the *Kongō Zō-ō Gongen* of Mount Yoshino, mentioned above[1].

The principal image of *Emmyōji*, 延命寺, or "Temple of the Lengthener of Life" in *Kome-chō*, 米町, Kamakura, was a standing image called *Hadaka Jizō* or "the Naked Jizō". It stood upon a backgammon board (*sugoroku-ban*, 雙六盤) in a little shrine, but when pilgrims came it was taken out of the shrine, its garment was taken off and it was shown naked to the visitors. It was different from the ordinary Jizō's, for it had *female* pudenda. Tradition said that HŌJŌ NO TOKIYORI, 北條時頼, the fifth Shikken of Kamakura (A. D. 1226—1263) one day was playing *sugoroku* with his wife; they had mutually agreed that the loser of the game should entirely undress him (or her) self. His consort lost, but filled with shame she prayed to this Jizō, her tutelary idol, that he might save her from this painful situation. And behold, the Bodhisattva suddenly changed into a woman and stood upon the sugoroku board, then giving himself as a substitute for her. From that time he was called *Migawari*[2] *Jizō* or "Substitute Jizō"[3].

The female shape of this Jizō is interesting in connection with his original female nature[4].

A peasant in Izumo, who had always had a firm belief in Jizō, had made a small image of the Bodhisattva. He had placed it in a little shrine on a board in his room, and worshipped it daily. One day a severe illness prevented him from obeying the order of the lord of his district to cultivate the lord's rice fields. According to the custom of the Tokugawa period the peasants had to do so gratuitously. Thus all the peasants of the village went out on the day fixed by their lord to work in his service, but the poor man could not go and in despair again and again repeated Jizō's invocation," Namu Jizō Dai Bosatsu", in his lonely house, his beloved wife just having died from the same disease. On the lord's fields, however, a young Buddhist priest worked in his place and fulfilled his task so well, that the lord gave him a wine cup which he respectfully raised above his head and disappeared. The lord understood that this priest was a divine person and sent a messenger to the peasant's house, in order to reward him. The astonished man, convinced that this was Jizō's work, opened the shrine and saw the wine cup upon the Bodhisattva's head and mud sticking to his feet. Apparently the image itself had been his substitute on the field![5].

In the same way *Kotsumi* Jizō of *Ke-ō-in* on Kōya san cut wood and piled it up, working as a substitute for an old woman[6], and the Jizō of *Tokuseiji* in Awa province acted as a messenger in the place of his priest[7].

[1] Ch. III, § 2, A. [2] 身代.
[3] *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684), Ch. VII, p. 16.
[4] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2, p. 12.
[5] *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki*, Ch. IV, p. 21.
[6] Cf. above, Ch. II, § 2, p. 76.
[7] Ibidem, p. 77.

§ 5. *Jizō, the healer of the sick.*

We saw above[1], that Jizō of *Ki no moto* was famous for curing all kinds of disease: dumbness, blindness a. s. o., and that Hideyoshi thanked his recovery to this very Jizō. Two images ascribed to Kōbō Daishi, that of *Emmyōji* in Konishimi village, Kawachi province, and *Aburakake* Jizō in Ōsaka, were known for their healing power. The latter image, when being rubbed in with oil, was sure to cure intermittent fever[2].

NINKŌ, 仁康, a Tendai priest of *Gidarinji*, 祇陀林寺, in Kyōto, in A. D. 1023 in consequence of a divine revelation of Jizō of *Kobata-dera*, who appeared to him in a dream, ordered the people to worship the six Jizō's in order to stop the pestilence raging in the capital. Then the crowd went to Kobata and prayed to the six Jizō's, who at once stopped the epidemy. This statement of the *Garan kaiki ki*, quoted above[3], is to be compared with a passage of the *Shimpen Hitachi kokushi* or "New history of Hitachi province", where we read that this priest at the same occasion made a gold-coloured image of Jizō which he erected and worshipped in order to put a stop to the pestilence. He also established a *Jizō club*, 地藏講, and whoever was anxious to escape the disease became a member of this association, devoted to Jizō's cult. Even at the author's time (1787—1836) many married *women* of Kyōto assembled on the 24th day of each month (the 24th being, as we saw above, Jizō's special day of worship, especially the 24th of the 7th month) to hold a meeting of this Jizō club. It is characteristic, that *women* were then apparently the only members of this club, Jizō being the protector of the female class and of children.

The *Shimotsuke kokushi*[4] (A. D. 1850) states that a stone image of Jizō, four shaku high, according to the inscription on its back erected in the sixth month of the eighteenth year of the Tembun era (A. D. 1549) by the general SHIONOYA YOSHITSUNA, 塩谷由綱, on behalf of the soul of his deceased father, the general SHIONOYA TAKATSUNA, 孝綱, at *Omaebara*, 御前原, in Shionoya district, Shimotsuke province, was called *Hashika* (麻疹) *Jizō* or "Measles Jizō", because it was believed to be very powerful in curing this disease. Whenever measles prevailed in the neighboorhood, many pilgrims flocked to this idol.

Two works mention the Jizō of *Kōgoji*, 香古寺, in Kōgo village, Uta district, Sanuki province. The *Kwōsekishū*[5] (1692) says that this Jizō was famous for its divine power, especially in curing intermittent fever (okori). Whenever one of the villagers suffered from this disease, his grandfather and grandmother (or if they had died probably other old relatives) went out at midnight and, looking up to the sky, loudly prayed to Jizō sama of Kōgo, that he might cure the patient, and promised to offer wheat flour to the Bodhisattva. Then they went home and prepared the flour in order

[1] Ch. I, § 3, p. 68.
[2] Ch. II, § 2, pp. 80 and 81. [3] Ch. II, § 5, p. 85. [4] Ch. VIII, p. 7.
[5] Ch. I, p. 34.

to offer it the next morning. By that time the patient was sure to be recovered. The *Zen san shi*, 全讚史[1], relates that in A. D. 1673 EIKŌ, 英公, the Daimyō of Sanuki, after having prayed from afar to this Jizō at once was cured from intermittent fever, which no medicines could stop. Then he ordered to make a Jizō image, eight shaku high, and to put inside the head of the old Jizō which had been found. Further, he erected a temple and had the image placed there. Afterwards, in A. D. 1692, this Jizō healed TOKUGAWA TSUNAEDA, 德川綱條, Daimyō of Mito, who suffered from the same disease.

A stone image of Jizō was dedicated in A. D. 1690 in *Muonji*, 毋恩寺, a Buddhist temple in Settsu province, by an inhabitant of Ōsaka, Morita Kaemon by name, in consequence of a vow made by a friend of his. The man had been severely ill, and as no physicians or medicines could heal him, Morita had made a vow to Jizō, that he would cause the patient to make and dedicate a Jizō image if the Bodhisattva would cure him by the power of his incantations[2]. From that time his friend had gradually recovered, without taking any medicine. Morita, however, forgot to tell him about the vow, and consequently no image was made. One night a maid-servant of his friend dreamt, that a priest, leaning on a staff (the khakkhara), said to her: "When your master was ill, I healed him in consequence of a vow. Why does he not fulfill this vow? He must speedily make my image." As the maid-servant did not understand this dream, she did not speak about it, but twenty days later the same priest again appeared to her in a dream and said that a heavy curse was imminent if the vow was not fulfilled, and that Morita knew all about the matter. This time she told her master what she had dreamt, and the latter, after having related the facts to Morita, went to the author of the *Kwōsekishū* (the *Shingon* priest MUJINZŌ, 無盡藏) who advised him to obey the Bodhisattva's command. Then a stone image was dedicated in Muonji.

The expression concerning the incantations as well as the fact that a Shingon priest was consulted point to the mystic nature of this healing Jizō.

The *Honchō zokugen shi*, 本朝俗諺志[3], or "Records on Japanese popular proverbs" relates about *Hanakake*, 鼻缺, or "Noseless" Jizō, a standing effigy of Jizō carved on a stone stūpa, about three shaku high. This stūpa (apparently a grave monument) was erected in A. D. 1717, and at the author's time (1746) large crowds of pilgrims visited the temple where it stood, *Honseiji*, 本誓寺, in Fukagawa district, Yedo. They flocked together there from Yedo itself as well as from the neighbouring provinces, in order to pray to this Jizō for recovery from all kinds of diseases. After their prayers they used to fill a little bamboo tube with the *tamuke no mizu*, 手向の水,

[1] Written in 1828 by NAKAYAMA JŌZAN, 中山城山. Ch. VIII, p. 1.

[2] 加持, kaji.

[3] Written in 1746 by KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, 菊岡沾涼, also called BEIZAN, 米山, who also wrote the *Shokoku rijindan*, 諸國里人談 (same year). Ch. IV, p. 7.

(the water placed before a grave as an offering to the spirit of the interred) and take this home. When their prayers were fulfilled, they filled a *kawarake*, 土器 (an unglazed earthen vessel) with *salt* and offered this to this Jizō as a sign of gratitude.

*Chatō*, 茶盪[1], or "Tea offering" *Jizō*, in *Minami kawaraya machi*, 南瓦屋町, Ōsaka, in the Genroku era (1688—1703) was famous for curing the sick. The patients went there to pray to this Jizō and to offer *chatō*, an infusion of tea leaves, to him. Drinking this tea or applying it on the affected part of their bodies was sure to cause their prayers to be fulfilled. The tea, having been in contact with Jizō, was thought to have absorbed the Bodhisattva's healing power[2].

Women who suffered from diseases of the nipples prayed to the image of the *Ashigara Jizō-dō*, 足柄地藏堂, or "Jizō chapel of Ashigara", in *Yakurasawa* (矢倉澤) village, Ashigara-kami district, Sagami province[3].

Boils and all other diseases were cured by *Kamihari* (紙張, or "Paper pasted") *Jizō*, a stone image in the compound of *Yōshū-in*, 陽秀院, at *Nagoya*, which was constantly covered with written prayers, pasted on its body by the crowds of pilgrims seeking recovery by the divine assistance of the merciful Bodhisattva. After the recovery of a patient his letter was taken off, but the space was immediately occupied by another[4].

The *Fūzoku gwahō* gives some interesting specimens of Jizō cult for the sake of one's health, still prevalent at the present day. *Hōroku* (炮烙) *Jizō* (*hōroku* is a "shallow earthen pan used in baking or parching") is an image in *Daienji*, 大圓寺, Komagome, Hongō district, Tōkyō, which was famous from olden times. Sufferers from headache take their refuge to him and after having been cured they cover his head with a *hōroku*, thanking him warmly. Thus he always wears a large number of these pans upon his head; when their weight becomes too heavy, the abbot of the temple stores them away in the main building. One can imagine what an immense number of pans are there to testify the Bodhisattva's healing power[5].

The stone Jizō of *Higashi Mizuhashi*, 東水橋, in Etchū province cures *mimi-dare*, 聤耳 (otorrhœa, an offensive discharge from the ear), if the patient secretly, without anybody knowing about it, hangs a *kawarake* (an unglazed earthen vessel) with a cord to the Bodhisattva's ear and prays to him. There are always many of these vessels hanging on his ears[6].

The *hōroku* were probably originally placed upon the head of the image at the time of praying and not after recovery, and in both cases the headache or the otorrhoea were transferred to the image by means of the vessel.

1 I. e. *sencha*, 煎茶, an infusion of tea leaves, offered to Buddhist deities.
2 *Setsuyō gundan* (1698) Ch. XII, p. 53.
3 *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki* (1841), Ch. XXI, Ashigara-kami district, sect. X, p. 9.
4 *Saezurigusa* (1859), Ch. CXIII, p. 29.
5 *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 232 (May 1901), p. 39.
6 *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 238 (Oct. 1901), p. 34.

Finally, we may mention a small stone image of Jizō at the Shirokoma bridge on the way from Shirokoma (白駒) village to Ikeda machi, 池田町, in Shinano province, which is said to heal the diseases of the lower part of the body, as sexual diseases etc., if the patients promise to offer *tōgarashi*, 唐辛 (red pepper), to him[1].

§ 6. *The Minamoto's and the Taira's.*

The *Fusō ryakki*[2] (written about A. D. 1150) says that four Bodhisattvas alternately come to this world to convert the living beings, namely *Fugen* and *Monju* (Samantabhadra and Mañjucrī), *Kwannon* and *Jizō*. Thus we find Jizō recognized at this time as one of the four principal Bodhisattvas.

We read very little about the MINAMOTO'S before Yoritomo (who was a devout believer in Jizō, as we shall see below) worshipping our Bodhisattva. We saw above[3], that MINAMOTO NO YOSHIMITSU, 源義光 (1056—1127), showed his zeal in this respect by transplacing the image of *Inazumi kokubo Jizō*, attributed to GYŌGI BOSATSU, to Kamijō, and that KAMADA MASAKIYO, a vassal of MINAMOTO NO YOSHITOMO, Yoritomo's father, in A. D. 1146 presented a stone lantern on which the six Jizō's were represented, to the Asakusa temple[4].

As to the TAIRA'S, the famous KIYOMORI (1118—1181), who had the six Jizō's placed at the six entrances of the capital[5], was said to have exempted his vassal Sadamori from punishment because the latter stood under Jizō's divine protection. As this Sadamori had committed some wrong, Kiyomori ordered Taira no Hyōe to put him to death. Sadamori supplicated Hyōe to allow him to make a pilgrimage that night to *Jizō son of Rokuhara*, 六波羅 (at Kyōto), and promised to return the next day at noon. Hyōe pitied him and agreed, whereupon Sadamori went to Rokuhara and with all his heart prayed to Jizō. That very night a Buddhist priest appeared to Kiyomori in a dream, put his neck between a pair of scissors and menaced to cut off his head if he ventured to kill Sadamori without any sufficient reason. At the same time he made a deep cut in his neck. As soon as Kiyomori awoke he sent for Sadamori, and when he heard that the latter had gone to the Jizō of Rokuhara, he at once understood the divine apparition in his dream and acquitted him. Sadamori became a monk and from that time lived near Jizō's shrine, worshipping him from morning till night[6].

SHIGEMORI, 重盛 (1138—1179), Kiyomori's eldest son, was said to have erected the *Hōkongōji*, 寶金剛寺, or "Temple of the Precious Vajra" in Kōzu village, Sagami province, in order to dedicate this shrine to a Jizō image which he used to worship. This happened in the 11th month of A. D. 1178, shortly before Shigemori's death[7].

[1] *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 388 (Oct. 1908), p. 27. [2] K. T. K. Vol. VI, Nr. 27, p. 749. [3] Ch. I, § 5, p. 71. [4] Ch. II, § 5, p. 90. [5] Ch. II, § 5, p. 89. [6] *Jizō Bosatsu reikenki* (1684), Ch. VIII, p. 16. [7] See note 1 of the first page of the next chapter.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE KAMAKURA PERIOD (1192—1333).

### § 1. *Minamoto no Yoritomo.*

The great Shōgun YORITOMO (A. D. 1147—1199) by his ardent belief in Jizō caused this Bodhisattva's cult to spread among the warriors of Kamakura. We saw above[1] that he granted a pardon to Taira no Toshihira in consequence of a dream, in which the Jizō of *Mibu* had forbidden him to kill this man. He also expressed his gratitude to Hōyake no Jizō of *Seshū-in* in Ōsaka for his wonderful protection[2]. The reason why Yoritomo was filled with belief in Jizō's divine power and with gratitude towards him was the following. When Ōba Kagechika in A. D. 1181 had defeated Yoritomo at Ishibashi, the latter fled with seven retainers into a Jizō chapel (*Jizō-dō*) in *Yoshihama* (吉濱) village, Ashigara-shimo district, Sagami province. The principal idol of this chapel was a square stūpa made of stone, with a Jizō engraved on one side and Sanscrit characters on the other sides. JUNKAI, 純海, the priest of the chapel, hid Yoritomo under the base of this idol ("under the seat of Jizō daishi"). Thus he escaped his pursuers, and afterwards, when he had risen to the highest power, he erected a new shrine in the same spot and called it *Shōdōzan Yoritomo-dera*, 小道山賴朝寺. Junkai was invited to come to Kamakura and was rewarded in a royal way. In 1765 a stone monument was placed in the compound of this shrine, which according to its inscription in the Daidō era (A. D. 806—809) had been found on the sea shore by a fisherman. This monument, which was apparently considered to be connected with Jizō, was famous for its divine power (*reiken*)[3].

There was, however, still another reason for Yoritomo's profound veneration for Jizō. In A. D. 1160, when at the age of fourteen he was banished by Kiyomori to *Hiru-ga-kojima*, 蛭小島, in Izu province, he several times spent the night in *Tōkōji*, 東光寺, a Jizō temple at Izuyama (伊豆山) village, on the top of Mount *Higane*, 日金. There he prayed to the Bodhisattva that he might give felicity to the Minamoto House, and promised to remove the shrine to his new residence, when the time of his glory

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1 *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki*, Ch. XXXVII, Ashigara-shimo gōri, Sect. XVI, p. 9.
1 Ch. II, § 1. 2 Ch. II, § 3.
3 *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō* (1841), Ch. XXXII, Ashigara-shimo gōri, Sect. XI, p. 17.

should have come. He kept word, for when the whole realm was under his sway, he built *Shōgenji*, 松源寺, at Yuki no shita, 雪の下, in Kamakura, and placed in this temple a Jizō image, carved by the famous sculptor UNKEI, 運慶. He also repaired the shrine of Mount Higane and presented it with ricefields. At the present day a gigantic Jizō image of bronze is seen there and the name of *Higane Jizō* is well-known [1]. According to the *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684) [2] Shōgenji was called *Higane-san* in commemoration of the fact, that the Jizō of the sanctuary of Mount Higane had been removed to this shrine by order of Yoritomo, and had been made its principal idol.

Yoritomo was also said to have placed an Indian Jizō image behind *Engakuji*, 圓覺寺, in Kamakura. Sanetomo, the third Minamoto Shōgun (1192—1219) erected a temple for this idol in Hatano, 波多野, which he called *Kongōji*, 金剛寺, or "Vajra temple". This name is clear evidence of the sanctuary's belonging to the Shingon sect. Afterwards the image was removed to the Jizō chapel of *Kongōji* in Koishikawa, Yedo [3].

NII-DONO, 二位殿 [4], i. e. MASAKO, 政子, Yoritomo's consort and Hōjō Tokimasa's daughter, was not less devout in worshipping Jizō than the Shōgun himself. She had a private chapel (*jibutsudō*, 持佛堂), where she dedicated a picture of Jizō. This happened on the 24th day (Jizō's special day of worship, as we saw above) of the ninth month of A. D. 1223, and Bishop KWANKI, 觀基, led the ceremony [5]. The author of the *Shimpen Kamakura shi* [6] (1684) relates that in his time the Jizō image of the *Aizendō*, 愛染堂, opposite the Shintō shrine of Yoritomo (*Yoritomo-sha*) in Kamakura, was said to have been the principal tutelary idol of NII NO AMA or "The Nun Nii", which title Masako wore after Yoritomo's death. She had become a Buddhist nun, but reigned in the name of her sons, reason why the people called her Ama-Shōgun, the "Nun-Shōgun". Another tradition said that her tutelary image formerly stood in a Jizō chapel east of Akahashi.

## § 2. *Hōjō Tokiyori.*

HŌJŌ TOKIYORI, 北條時頼, the fifth Shikken of Kamakura (1226—1263), who in 1256 became a Buddhist monk and retired to the Saimyōji (hence his name Saimyōji-Nyūdō), belonged, as well as his consort, to Jizō's worshippers. We stated above [7] that he made a big Jizō image the principal idol of *Kenchōji*, dedicated in 1253, and that he further had a thousand other images of this Bodhisattva placed in this same sanctuary. Another tradition said that the main image of Kenchōji

[1] *Zōtei Zushū shikō*, Ch. XI, 上, p. 7, quoting the *Kwantō kosenroku*, 關東古戰錄, or "Records of old battles in Kwantō".
[2] Ch. IV, p. 2. [3] *Edo meisho zue* (1789—1829), Ch. IV, p. 74.
[4] Also called NISHIN, 二品.
[5] *Kōtei zōho Azuma kagami*, Ch. XXVI, p. 30 (Jō-ō 2, 9th month).
[6] Ch. I, p. 16. [7] Ch. III, § 3.

was on the contrary of very small size, namely only one *sun* two *bu* high, and that the height of its base was only one *sun*. This small Jizō idol was said to have been the private tutelary god of a certain SAIDA, 齋田, whom Tokiyori had condemned to death. Two swords were broken on Saida's neck without killing him, because he had a devout belief in Jizō and had put this Bodhisattva's small image in his cue to protect his neck. When Tokiyori heard this miracle, he pardoned Saida and made the Jizō, who had two sword cuts on his back as signs of his having given himself as a substitute for his worshipper, the principal idol of Kenchōji[1]. This story reminds us of the miraculous way in which NICHIREN was said to have escaped death in A. D. 1263.

As to Tokiyori's consort, we may refer to the story mentioned above[2] about *Hadaka Jizō*, the "Naked Jizō", the female Jizō image of *Emmyōji* in Kamakura, which was her private tutelary idol and showed its naked body, acting thus as her substitute.

### § 3. *Unkei.*

We have found three Jizō images attributed to UNKEI, the celebrated sculptor, who lived at Kamakura in the 12th and 13th centuries of our era. *Koyasu Jizō* of the *Nobu Jizō-dō* in Nobu village, Shimo-tsuke province, is mentioned above[3], as well as the principal idol of *Shōgenji* at Kamakura, made by order of Yoritomo[4]. The third was the main image of *Yōzenji*, 養膳寺, in *Shimo-ga-hashi* (下ゲ橋) village, Kawachi district, Shimotsuke province. This was a standing Jizō, about two shaku long, with a small copper image of this Bodhisattva enclosed in its belly (like a *haragomori no ko*, 腹籠ノ兒, a foetus). The small one was said to have come out of a pool[5].

We repeatedly came across such small Jizō idols, hidden in bigger ones of later date. In this way the divine power of the ancient image was preserved, whereas the size of the new one was more appropriate to its condition of principal idol of the temple.

### § 4. *Works from the Kamakura period.*

The *Uji shūi monogatari* (1213—1218) mentions Jizō in five passages. One of these, the story of the bettō of *Kokuryūji* in Sakano village, Inaba province, who revived after having been saved from hell by Jizō, is treated above[6]. The second relates how an old nun, who had heard that Jizō Bosatsu walked at daybreak, went out early in the morning to meet him. But she met a gambler, who promised to show her Jizō's house, and whom she gave her robe when he had led her to the house

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[1] *Wakan sansai zue*, 和漢三才圖會, the well-known encyclopaedia written in 1713 by TERAJIMA RYŌ-AN, 寺島頁安; Sect. Nihon no Sagami, Kamakura no gosan (五山), Kōfukusan Kenchōji, Ch. LXVII, p. 1075.

[2] Ch. III, § 4. [3] Ch. III, § 1. [4] Ch. IV, § 1.

[5] *Shimotsuke kokushi* (1850), Ch. VII, p. 23. [6] Ch. III, § 2.

of a man whose little boy of ten years was called Jizō. When the boy came, she respectfully sat down and worshipped him. And behold, the boy pointed with his stick to his forehead, and when she looked at this, it split and Jizō's real face appeared! Afterwards the devout nun went to Paradise[1].

According to the third tale there was in olden times a man in Yamashina village, Yamashiro province, who had made a Jizō image but had put it in a box without opening its eyes or dedicating it. So it stood forgotten in an inner room for three years. Then he dreamt that a man passed the house and loudly called Jizō. "What is the matter", asked a voice from the inner room. "To-morrow a great many Jizō's are assembling at the residence of Taishaku Ten (Çākra, i. e. Indra, the king of the Devas). Shall you come too?" "I should like to do so," was the answer, "but I cannot see, for my eyes have not yet been opened". Thereupon the man awoke, and the next morning his first work was to open Jizō's eyes and to dedicate the image (to a Jizō temple)[2].

The two remaining passages of this work give the stories of GANO[3] and of FUJIWARA NO HIROKI[4], who revived after having been released from hell by our Bodhisattva[5].

The *Heike monogatari* (1225—1250) compare Narichika's joy when seeing Shigemori with the joy of "sinners in hell when seeing Jizō Bosatsu"[6]. The same work relates how *Jūzenshi no miya*, 十禪師の宮, possessed a little boy priest, called Tsurumaru, 鶴丸, the messenger from *Mudōji*, 無動寺, on Hieizan to an assembly of Hieizan monks. This Jūzenshi no miya, who had his temple at the foot of this sacred mountain, was, according to a passage of the *Taiheiki*[7], a manifestation of Jizō Bosatsu. The monks held a meeting to discuss about the banishment of the *zasu* or head priest of the Tendai sect (the abbot of Enryakuji on Hieizan), but Jūzenshi no miya possessed Tsurumaru and spoke through his mouth. The boy covered his face with his sleeves and weeping bitterly declared that he, Jūzenshi no miya, could no longer stay at the foot of the mountain, when the zasu should be banished. The monks suspected him of fraud and decided to try him by throwing all their rosaries before his feet and requesting him to restore them to their owners. Then he proved to be actually possessed by the deity, for without any hesitation he gave each rosary to its proper owner. The monks, filled with admiration for this miraculous proof of divine possession, joined their hands and worshipped him[8].

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[1] *Uji shūi monogotari*, Ch. I, K. T. K. Vol. XVII, p 19.
[2] Ch. V, p. 104. [3] Ch. V, p. 118. [4] Ch. VI, p. 120. [5] Above, Ch. III, § 2.
[6] Ch. II, 上, p. 42; see above, Ch. III, § 2.
[7] Ch. XVIII, p. 19. Cf. also the *Honchō jinjakō*, 本朝神社考, written between 1614 and 1657 by HAYASHI RAZAN, 林羅山 (1584—1657), Ch. 上, 2, p. 23. This god seems to be the same as Hiyoshi, also called Sannō, who is believed to be Ōnamuji, i. e. Ōkuni-nushi no mikoto.
[8] Ch. II, 上, p. 10.

The *Shasekishū* (written before 1312) gives two stories about Jizō. In the former[1] an old chapel of this Bodhisattva, with an image, sixteen shaku high, is said to be situated on the beach of Kamakura and to be constantly visited by the people from the neighbourhood. One night all his worshippers had the same dream, namely that a young Buddhist priest (Jizō himself) appeared to them and took leave of them because his image had been sold. The priest of *Gwangyōbō*, 願行房, a little shrine in the compound of *Tōdaiji* at Nara, had actually bought it. When he had it removed to the *Hikaidō*, 二階堂, in Kamakura, the Bodhisattva himself in the shape of a Buddhist priest of superhuman strength assisted and after having finished the work, disappeared as if he were wiped away. Afterwards, when it had to be repaired, a maker of Buddhist images, who thought is too difficult to repair such a divine idol, was admonished in a dream by Jizō himself, to do the work without fear.

In the second story the Jizō of a temple in *Kage yukōji*, 勘解由小路, in the Ichijō district of Kyōto, is said to have protected a woman against the tricks of a wicked priest. This woman spent the night in the temple, and the priest deceived her by going to her when she was asleep and saying to her, as if he were the Bodhisattva himself, that she was to commit sexual intercourse with the first man she should meet after having left the temple. The priest intended to be that man, but Jizō prevented him from finding his clogs at the right moment, and the woman met a widower who married her[2].

The *Azuma kagami* (written shortly after 1266) states that NII-DONO, YORITOMO'S consort, in 1223 offered a picture of Jizō Bosatsu in her private chapel[3], and that HŌJŌ TOKIYORI in 1253 dedicated Kenchōji, with a big Jizō image as its principal idol, while a thousand other Jizō's were also placed in the same temple, and masses were said for the souls of the three Minamoto Shōguns, Nii-dono and the Hōjō's[4].

### § 5. *Data from later works.*

The *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684)[5] says that in the author's time there was a stone Jizō image, called *Amihiki* (網引, or "Net drawing") *Jizō*, in a cavern on the top of a mountain near Kamakura, in the territory of *Jōkōmyōji*, 淨光明寺[6]. Tradition said that this image had been pulled up from the sea in the net of a fisherman of Yui no hama. FUJIWARA NO TAMESUKE, 藤原爲相 (A. D. 1263—1328) was believed to have erected it, but according to the inscription on its back CHINKAKU, 眞覺, was the donor *(seshu*, 施主*)*, and JŌSEN, 性仙, was the leader of the dedicatory ceremony *(kuyō dōshi*, 供養道師*)*, which took place in 1312.

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[1] *Shasekishū*, Ch. II, 上, p. 16.
[2] *Shasekishū*, Ch. II, 上, p 18.
[3] See above, Ch. IV, § 1.
[4] See above, Ch. III, § 3.
[5] Ch. IV, p. 28.
[6] With the *Ya-hiroi Jizō*, cf. above, Ch. II, § 6.

The *Shokoku kojidan*[1] relates that MUSŌ KOKUSHI, 夢窓國師 (A. D. 1275 to 1351), when making the garden wall of *Saihōji*, 西芳寺, a Jizō temple which he had built, was assisted by a mysterious Buddhist priest, who showed a superhuman strength by carrying immense stones. At Musō's question who he was he answered that he lived in the Shijō district of Kyōto, and that he should like to have Musō's *kesa* (kashāya). After having obtained this sacerdotal dress he went away, leaving his *shakujō* (khakkhara) behind. Afterwards, when the curtain of the Jizō of *Dōjō*, 道場, in the Shijō district was opened, the image wore Musō's *kesa* and its khakkhara had disappeared! Musō kept this staff as a precious treasure, and it was preserved, still in the author's time, in *Tenryūji*,天龍寺[2], also founded by the same priest.

The *Joronsha wa*[3] contains the following particulars about a grave monument dating from the Kamakura period. On the cemetery of *Matsuyama* (松山) village, Sōsa district, Shimōsa province, there is a chapel called the *Kajidō*, 加持堂, or "Hall of incantation" (of the Shingon sect). In this chapel there is an old grave stone with a Jizō figure carved on one side, and the name of the priest who erected it (JISSHŌ, 實性), as well as the year in which this took place (A. D. 1253) on the other side. The villagers call it *Tsumekire*, 爪鐫, or "Nail-engraved" *Jizō* because it is an excellent piece of art. Formerly this stone served as a bridge over a ditch near a village in Katori district, but those who crossed it often fell from their horses (punished by Jizō for this unintentional sacrilege). Therefore the people at last lifted up the stone and discovered the Jizō figure on its lower side. Then they worshipped the Bodhisattva and gave the stone to a Buddhist priest from Matsuyama village who just visited the place. This man took it home and placed it in the chapel on the cemetery mentioned above.

## § 6. *Jizō represented in art.*

### A. *His shapes, attributes and mudrās.*

The *Sūtra on the Ten Wheels*, treated above[4], says that Ti-tsang with all the Bodhisattvas related with him came from the South, *all having assumed the shapes of çrāvakas*, and that they, after having strewn flowers upon the Tathāgata, set down at his feet to listen to his words. This passage may be the reason why this Bodhisattva is mostly represented as a *priest*.

The *Sūtra on the maṇḍalas of the Eight Great Boddhisattvas*[5] describes Kshitigarbha as follows. "He has a cap (i. e. a crown) on his head and wears a necklace

[1] 諸國古寺譚, written in 1850; Ch. IV, p. 17.
[2] One of the chief temples of the Rinzai sect, founded in 1342 in Saga village near Kyōto.
[3] 如蘭社話, published in 1888; written by different scholars, members of the *Joransha*, devoted to folklore (monthly numbers). Ch. III, p. 22, by SHIBUYA KEISABURŌ, 澁谷敬三郎.
[4] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 3. [5] Above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 4.



Fig. 27. One of Jizō's oldest shapes: a Bodhisattva seated upon a lotus, carrying an almsbowl in his left hand and holding his right hand over it. *Kokkwa* Nr. 156, p. 235, from a picture in the *Kakuzenshō*, made after the description of the *Sūtra on the maṇḍalas of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas* (cf. Sect. I, Ch. I, § 4).

of gems. His face is bright and harmonious, quiet and full of compassion with all affectionate beings. His left hand rests under his navel, carrying an almsbowl on its palm; his right hand closes its palm and is held over (the almsbowl), with its palm downwards, the thumb pinching up the index. (This means that) he gives consolation and peace to all affectionate beings". The *almsbowl* (鉢) is, in SEITAN'S opinion, perhaps a mistake for *pearl* (珠), this Bodhisattva's usual emblem, but this is quite hypothetical. SEITAN[1] gives a picture, based upon this description and found in the *Kakuzenshō*, 覺禪抄[2] (cf. fig. 27).

The "*Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha*"[3] prescribe as follows how to paint his effigy: "Make an image of the shape of a *çrāvaka*, clad in a kashaya, the end of which covers his left shoulder. His left hand ought to hold a flower in full bloom, his right hand ought to distribute fearlessness (i. e. to make the *abhayamudrā*, which consists in holding the hand upwards, with its palm to the front). He must be seated on a lotus flower (cf. fig. 28, i. e. the first picture, given by SEITAN in the *Kokkwa*, Nr. 156, p. 234, borrowed from the *Sonyōshō*, 尊容抄, and from the *Asahakushō*, 阿娑嚩抄). Again (now follows a second description), the image of the Great Man (i. e. Kshitigarbha), seated on a throne, must wear a Celestial Cap (crown) and a kashaya, and carry a lotus flower in his left hand, whereas the right one must make a mudrā like before (i. e. the *abhayamudrā*). He must be seated on a lotus stand of nine layers" (cf. fig. 29, i. e. the second picture, made by SEITAN himself, ibidem). As we remarked above, the editor of this text doubts the genuineness of this second description. According to SEITAN the *Kakuzenshō* gives a similar picture, based upon another Tantric text, but with a precious pearl upon the lotus flower.

Another work of the Yoga school, the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*[4], says that Kshitigarbha Mahāsattva is seated on the Northern side (the Yaksha side) of the Maṇḍala, on

[1] *Kokhwa*, Nr. 156, p. 235.
[2] I do not know the time and the author of this work.
[3] Above, Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1.
[4] Above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5.

a magnificent lotus seat; that great names are to be given to him, like "Ratnapāni" and "Holder of the Earth" (i. e. Dharaṇiṁdhara) (cf. Eitel s. v.), and that he ought to be surrounded by the highest saints. He is described as having a colour like that of a 鉢孕遇 flower and holding a lotus flower in his hand; he wears a necklace of precious stones. We read in another passage of the same work that a large *banner* must be erected near his splendid lotus seat, that his name is Jina, "the Most Victorious One", and that he ought to be surrounded by a numberless crowd of superior relatives.



Fig. 28. One of Jizō's oldest shapes: a priest seated upon a lotus, with lotus flower and abhayamudrā. *Kokkwa* Nr. 156, p. 234, from a picture in the *Sonyōshō*, made after the description of the *Ti-tsang P'u-sah i-kwei* (cf. Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1).

The semi-Taoistic, semi-Buddhistic work entitled "Doctrine of the wonderful Repentance (practised in worship of) the Ten Merciful Kings"[1] opens with a picture representing Ti-tsang seated on a throne, in the shape of a Buddhist priest, with a great halo behind his shaven head, the urṇa between his eyebrows, and the khakkhara in his right hand. On both sides of the throne stands a young priest, also with a round glory, his hands joined and directed towards Ti-tsang. These are his two followers. His title is "Tantra-ruler of the Darkness", whose *khakkhara* shakes and opens the doors of hell, and whose *precious pearl* illumines the Dark Palace.

The *Yuh-lih* or "Calendar of Jade"[2], also blending Taoism with Tantric Buddhism, gives a picture representing our Bodhisattva in a sacerdotal robe, with the urṇa on his forehead, a round halo, and a five-pointed crown. He is riding on a tiger, and is escorted by his attendants, two young priests, of whom one carries his master's khakkhara, whereas the other holds a long banner adorned with a lotus flower. The inscription of the banner gives Kshitigarbha's title as "Tantra-ruler of the Darkness, King Ti-tsang, the Bodhisattva". A boy leads the tiger with a cord.

The *Sūtra on the Ten Kings*[3], the Taoistic-Tantric work which spread the belief in the Ten Kings of Hell in China, describes the Six Ti-tsangs (also invented by the author) as follows. The first carries a cintāmaṇi or "jewel which grants all desires" in his left hand, with the right one makes the "Preaching mudrā". The attribute and the mudrā of the second are the khakkhara and the varadamudrā;

[1] Above, Sect. II, Ch. 1, § 1. [2] Above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 3.
[3] Above, Sect. II, Ch. I, § 1.



Fig. 29. One of Jizō's oldest shapes: a Bodhisattva seated upon a lotus, with lotus flower and abhayamudrā. *Kokkwa* Nr. 156, p. 234, after the second description of the *Ti-tsang P'u-sah i-kwei* (cf. Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1).

those of the third, the "Vajra banner" and the abhayamudrā; those of the fourth the khakkhara and the "leading and assisting mudrā"; those of the fifth the precious pearl and the Amṛtamudrā, and those of the sixth the "Banner of Yama" and the "mudrā which completes discrimination" (between good and evil, true and false).

The *Genkō Shakusho* (written before A. D. 1346) relates how the Shintō priest Koretaka saw the Six Jizō's in hell, carrying respectively an incense burner, joining his palms, and keeping a precious pearl, a khakkhara, a flower basket and a rosary[1].

The *Bussetsu Emmyō Jizō Bosatsu kyō* or "Sutrā on Jizō, the Lengthener of Life", a Japanese work of the Tokugawa period, describes the Bodhisattva as carrying a khakkhara, whereas his two attendants, a white and a red boy, respectively hold a white lotus and a vajra[2].

On reflecting upon these various Indian, Chinese and Japanese descriptions we arrive at the conclusion that this Bodhisattva from olden times was represented in two different shapes: that of a *priest* and that of a *Bodhisattva*, and that his oldest emblems were the *lotus*, and, as it seems, the *almsbowl*. The *khakkhara* and the *cintāmaṇi* became his principal attributes by the influence of the Taoistic-Tantric literature, which mostly gave him the shape of a priest with an urṇa and a halo. The Bodhisattva shape became rare, the priest shape dominated more and more. Another attribute of Tantric origin was the *banner*, which was sometimes placed upon the lotus in his hands (cf. fig. 30)[3]. His principal mudrā was the abhayamudrā, by which he was believed to give fearlessness to his worshippers. The Taoistic-Tantric priests seem to have invented his two young attendants, who carried his khakkhara and banner, or a lotus and a vajra. The Yoga school is also responsible for his six different forms, as well in China as in Japan.

After having drawn these conclusions with regard to China and Japan, we may refer to SEITAN's treatise in the *Kokkwa*, mentioned above[4], where he gives the

[1] Above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5. [2] Below, Ch. VI.
[3] *Butsuzō zui*, IV, p. 8b, central figure of upper row. Cf. *Kokkwa* Nr. 159, p. 46.
[4] *Kokkwa* Nr. 159, pp. 46sqq., cf. Nr. 156, pp. 233sqq.




Fig. 30. Jizō with pearl and lotus, upon which a small banner. *Butsu-zō zui* IV, p. 8b.

following details concerning Jizō's representation in Japan. The "correct form" with the lotus, as described in the "Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha", is unknown in Japan. The Japanese Jizō figure of the Nara period and from before that time is represented by the so-called *Sammaishō* (三昧勝) *Jizō* of *Shōryō-in*, 聖靈院, in *Hōryūji*, the famous temple at Nara, founded in A. D. 607 by Shōtoku Taishi. This image is said to have been presented in A. D. 577 to the Emperor Bidatsu by the king of Kudara, whose name is pronounced SHŌMEI, 聖明[1], in Japanese. Its name, *Sammaishō*, which might mean "Samādhi-conqueror", is explained as "Three distinguished conquerors" in the sense of its having the three eminent qualities of being the work of a devout Buddhist, having had an owner like king Shōmei, and being made of sandal wood. This image, an outline of which is given by SEITAN[2] (our fig. 10), has no attributes, but the left hand makes the *abhayamudrā*, the right one, held down with its palm in front, makes the *varadamudrā*, which means "bestowing", "blessings"; SEITAN, however, considers this to be an other form of the abhayamudrā. The urṇa on his forehead and his long ears speak of holiness and wisdom, but no halo surrounds the shaven head of the priest. He is not seated, but standing upon a lotus.

Most of the Jizō images of the *second* period (the Heian, Fujiwara and Gempei times) have a *precious pearl* in the left hand, whereas the right one is making the *abhayamudrā*. In the picture, given by Seitan (our fig. 31)[3], the left hand carries three radiant pearls upon a lotus, a very common emblem of holiness. The images attributed to Kōbō Daishi mostly have the pearl (or pearls) and the abhayamudrā. That of *Kwōryūji*[4] in *Uzumasa*, 太秦 (near Kyōto) and that of *Yata-san Nembutsu-in*, 矢田山念佛院[5], in Yamato are, according to Seitan, specimens of this kind. Jizō is represented as a priest, clad in a sacerdotal robe, with an urṇa and a round halo,

[1] About this name and the image cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. I, § 1.
[2] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, p. 47. [3] Ibidem, p. 48.
[4] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 156, Pl. VII, p. 230; cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 2 (Umoregi Jizō, attributed to Kōbō Daishi).
[5] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. III, § 2 (Jizō, the saviour from Hell).



Fig. 31. Jizō as a priest, seated upon lotus and carrying three precious pearls in his left hand, whereas his right hand makes the abhayamudrā. Type of the Jizō images of the Heian, Fujiwara and Gempei periods (A. D. 794—1185). *Kokkwa* Nr. 159, p. 48.



Fig. 32. Jizō as a priest, seated upon lotus, with precious pearl and khakkhara. Type of the Jizō images of the Kamakura and later periods. *Kokkwa* Nr. 159, p. 48.

and seated on a lotus. In my opinion, however, the mudrā of the former image (Umoregi Jizō), is the *varada* and not the *abhayamudrā;* moreover, it has neither an urṇa nor a halo, and it is *standing* upon the lotus. The right shoulder is bare, like in the description of the "Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha".

In the *third* period (the Kamakura and Tokugawa times, and the Meiji era) the *pearl* in the left hand and the *khakkhara* in the right one were, and are still, Jizō's common attributes. It is a priest with an urṇa and with a round halo behind his head, seated upon a lotus, his left leg hanging down while his right leg is bent with its foot against the left knee (cf. Seitan's picture[1]) (our fig. 32), or, as very often is the case, standing upon the lotus. The Jizō of *Mibu dera*[2], although attributed to *Jōchō*, 定朝, the famous sculptor of the eleventh century (Fujiwara time), belongs to this type. This is evidence of the fact, acknowledged by SEITAN himself, that these three periods are to be taken *cum grano salis*. Also the beautiful image represented in the *Kokkwa* (Nr. 99, p. 52, pl. V) (our fig. 33), Jizō sitting on the

[1] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 159, p. 48. [2] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. II, § 1.



Fig. 33. Jizō as a priest, seated on a lotus, with a precious pearl in his left, the right hand apparently having carried the khakkhara (12 th century, Fujiwara or Gempei period). From the *Kokkwa*, Nr. 99, p. 52, Pl. V. Now in the Collection FUCHS, Tübingen.



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Fig. 34. Jizō of Kōdai-in, Daigo-ji in Yamashiro. A priest with two haloes, seated upon lotus and carrying khakkhara and precious pearl which emits a thin cloud of smoke. Picture from the Kamakura period (1192—1332). *Kokkwa* Nr. 197, Pl. II, p. 457.

lotus, with round haloes behind his head, back and whole body, has the precious pearl in his left hand, whereas the right one evidently carried the khakkhara which is now lost. Yet its style shows, according to the *Kokkwa*, that it belongs to the Fujiwara or the Gempei period. Jizō images with the khakkhara were sometimes made also in Kōbō Daishi's time, and there are other ones with the precious pearl and the *abhaya-mudrā* which date from a later age; but most of the images made in these three periods belong to the types described above.

Besides these principal Jizō figures there are a great number of others. Seitan mentions e. g. *Oya-ko Jizō* (親子, "Parent and child") on Kōya san, *Tairitsu* (戴笠, "Hat wearing") Jizō on Hieizan, Jizō with a little boy in his arms *(Ko-sodate*[1]*)* or "Child rearing" Jizō, and the priest having his hands joined and carrying a pearl. As to the name of *Emmyō*[2] (延命) *Jizō*, "Lengthener of Life", given to the figure whose right knee is bent, while the left leg is stretched down, 半跏, this is a mistake due to the spurious sūtra, entitled *Bussetsu Emmyō Jizō Bosatsu kyō*, 佛說延命地藏菩薩經[3], written by a Japanese priest of the Tokugawa era. There he is said to have risen out of the ground in this attitude. We saw above[4] that the priests of the Toku-

[1] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. III, § 1 (Koyasu Jizō).
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[3] To be treated below in Ch. VI (Tokugawa period). [4] Sect. III, Ch. II, § 5 (the Six Jizō's).

gawa period represented the Six Jizō's with various attributes, e. g. a *Nyo-i* or scepter which grants all desires, a rosary, an incense burner etc., or joining his palms, which reminds us of the passage of the *Genkō Shakusho*, mentioned above[1]. As to the grave monuments of the Tokugawa period, there he mostly carries a khakkhara and a cintāmaṇi, but sometimes he joins his palms or holds a rosary or cymbals, whereas archaic ones show him in his antique form, with the lotus flower in his left hand and making the abhayamudrā with his right hand.

B. *Pictures.*

A very beautiful picture of Jizō Bosatsu is preserved in *Kōdai-in*, 光臺院, a temple within the precincts of the *Daigo-ji*, 醍醐寺, at Daigo in Yamashiro province. Its maker is unknown, but it probably dates from the Kamakura period. Jizō is represented as a priest, sitting upon a lotus, with a round halo behind his head and a big round halo behind his whole body, while his hands carry the precious pearl and the khakkhara. His left foot is resting upon one of the two small lotus flowers in front of his lotus seat. A thin cloud rises from the sacred gem and clouds surround the foot of his magnificent throne (our picture 34)[2]. Another beautiful picture of Jizō, standing upon two lotus flowers, in the shape of a priest with khakkhara and pearl, and with a round halo behind his head, belongs to the collections of the Tōkyō Imperial Museum. The beings of the six gati, saved by his divine assistance, appear between the rays of the halo in the vapoury cloud which issues from the precious pearl in his left hand. The painter of this glorious picture is unknown, but its style is evidence of its belonging to the earlier part of the Kamakura era. It is reproduced in the *Kokkwa*[3] (our picture 35), where we read that, although the Fujiwara period has produced excellent specimens of Buddhist pictures, Jizō was seldom represented in that time except in company with other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (as at Buddha's Nirvāṇa, and in Amitābha's retinue, when the latter, accompanied by his retinue of 25 Bodhisattvas, welcomes a deceased member of the highest of the nine classes of devotees, coming to Sukhavatī, the Pure Land of the West)[4]. The Kamakura period, however, began to make individual pictures of Jizō alone, and among those of the beginning of this period the two mentioned above are the finest specimens.

On a kakemono, owned by the *Reiunji*, 靈雲寺, a Shingon temple at Tōkyō, an interesting maṇḍala is represented, where Jizō is sitting in the central (i. e. the principal) row, at the side of Mahāvairocana of the Garbha sphere. In the same row Mahāvairocana of the Vajra sphere, Bheshajya-rāja (Yakushi Nyorai) and Mai-

[1] Sect. III, Ch. IV, § 6.
[2] *Kokkwa*, Nr. 197 (Oct. 1906), p. 456 sq.
[3] Nr. 217 (June 1908), Plate III, p. 333, cf. p. 335.
[4] Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. III, § 3.



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2 *Kokkwa*, Nr. 197 (Oct. 1906), p. 456 sq.
3 Nr. 217 (June 1908), Plate III, p. 333, cf. p. 335.
4 Cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. III, § 3.



Fig. 35. Jizō with pearl and khakkhara. The beings of the six *gati*, all to be saved by him, appear between the rays of his halo. Picture from de Kamakura period. Imperial Museum, Tōkyō. *Kokkwa* Nr. 217, Plate III, p. 333.

treya are represented, which shows that Jizō was considered to belong to the highest deities of the Shingon pantheon. He is sitting in diamond pose (cross-legged) upon the lotus, with a round glory behind his head and a larger one behind his back. As to his attributes, these are the *cintāmaṇi* (in the left hand) and the *khakkhara* (in the right hand). Ākāçagarbha, his counterpart among the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, especially worshipped by the Yoga school, is seated behind him (i. e. above him, in the second row), holding a lotus with a gem on it. This picture, attributed to KOSE KANAOKA (towards the end of the 9th century), is assigned by TAJIMA to an artist of the early part of the *Kamakura* period (the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century)[1].

In the Ashikaga time even the Shōguns themselves, especially TAKAUJI (the first Shōgun, who lived 1305—1358) painted Jizō's effigies to offer them up to him in his sanctuaries, as we shall see below[2].

Apart from these *kakemono's*, however, many scrolls *(makimono's)* were painted by the great artists of the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods, which contained Jizō's *engi*, 緣起, i. e. his history, the miracles by which he showed his divine power in assisting and saving his worshippers[3], and his favourable responses to their prayers[4]. All these traditions were based upon and in accordance with the main sūtra devoted to him, the sūtra on his Original Vow, treated above[5].

The principal makimono's of this kind, enumerated in the *Kokkwa*[6], are painted by the following masters: SUMIYOSHI KEION, 住吉慶恩 (i. e. HŌGEN, 法眼[7]) (first half of

[1] TAJIMA, *Select Relics*, Vol. V, Pl. XI.
[2] Ch. VI. [3] 靈驗, *reiken*. [4] 感應, *kannō*.
[5] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2. [6] Nr. 25, p. 20.
[7] "Eye of the Law", the second honorary title of Buddhist priests; *Hō-in*, 法印, "Seal of the Law", is the highest title.



Fig. 36. Jizō as a priest with khakkhara and pearl, standing on a cloud, saves a child from the waves. From a makimono *(Jizō engi)* by KOSE ARIYASU (first half of the 14th century). *Kokkwa* Nr. 25, Pl. IV, upper scene.

the 13th century; explaining text written by JICHIN HŌSHŌ, 慈鎮和尚); KOSE MITSUYASU, 巨勢光康 (end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, one of the leaders of the Kose school; explaining text by YOSHIDA KENKŌ, 吉田兼好, the author of the *Tsurezure-gusa* (who lived 1282—1350); KOSE ARIYASU, 有康 (first half of the 14th century); KOSE ARIIE, 有家 (same time; explaining text by KYŌ-UN HŌSHI, 慶運法師); TOSA TAKAKANE, 土佐隆兼 (same time; explaining text by SESONJI DONO, 世尊寺殿, i. e. FUJIWARA NO YUKIFUSA, 藤原行房, who was killed in battle in 1330); IMAGAWA NORIMASA, 今川範政 (who in 1396 conquered Uesugi Ujinori and died in 1416; called Fuku-Shōgun, "Vice-Shōgun"; explaining text by the painter himself); TOSA MITSUNOBU, 光信 (who became chief of the edokoro, the bureau of drawing and painting, in 1496, and lived 1445—1543; this makimono is entitled *Jizō-zōshi*, 地藏雙紙). Further there are seven or eight other makimono's with texts, all made by unknown painters and writers and dealing with this Bodhisattva. Two scenes from that of Kose Ariyasu are reproduced in the *Kokkwa*[1] (cf. our picture 36), where Jizō saves a child from the waves. Another number of the same periodical[2] gives two scenes from the two scrolls, attributed to TOSA TAKAKANE and preserved in the famous *Yata* temple, mentioned above[3]. Mammei, one of the abbots of this shrine, is seen going to Hades, where Jizō is saving the sinners. There we read the following: "The style of arboreal drawing, the heavy colouring, as well as the genteel touch,

[1] Nr. 25, Pl. IV, p. 20.

[2] Nr. 180, Pl. VI and VII, pp. 237 sq. Those of Ariyasu and Ariie also treat the history of Jizō of Yata-dera.

[3] Sect. III, Ch. III, § 2.



Fig. 35. Jizō with pearl and khakkhara. The beings of the six *gati*, all to be saved by him, appear between the rays of his halo. Picture from de Kamakura period. Imperial Museum, Tōkyō. *Kokkwa* Nr. 217, Plate III, p. 333.

treya are represented, which shows that Jizō was considered to belong to the highest deities of the Shingon pantheon. He is sitting in diamond pose (cross-legged) upon the lotus, with a round glory behind his head and a larger one behind his back. As to his attributes, these are the *cintāmaṇi* (in the left hand) and the *khakkhara* (in the right hand). Ākāçagarbha, his counterpart among the Eight Great Bodhisattvas, especially worshipped by the Yoga school, is seated behind him (i. e. above him, in the second row), holding a lotus with a gem on it. This picture, attributed to KOSE KANAOKA (towards the end of the 9th century), is assigned by TAJIMA to an artist of the early part of the *Kamakura* period (the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century)[1].

In the Ashikaga time even the Shōguns themselves, especially TAKAUJI (the first Shōgun, who lived 1305—1358) painted Jizō's effigies to offer them up to him in his sanctuaries, as we shall see below[2].

Apart from these *kakemono's*, however, many scrolls *(makimono's)* were painted by the great artists of the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods, which contained Jizō's *engi*, 縁起, i. e. his history, the miracles by which he showed his divine power in assisting and saving his worshippers[3], and his favourable responses to their prayers[4]. All these traditions were based upon and in accordance with the main sūtra devoted to him, the sūtra on his Original Vow, treated above[5].

The principal makimono's of this kind, enumerated in the *Kokkwa*[6], are painted by the following masters: SUMIYOSHI KEION, 住吉慶恩 (i. e. HŌGEN, 法眼[7]) (first half of

[1] TAJIMA, *Select Relics*, Vol. V, Pl. XI.

[2] Ch. VI. [3] 靈驗, *reiken*. [4] 感應, *kannō*.

[5] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2. [6] Nr. 25, p. 20.

[7] "Eye of the Law", the second honorary title of Buddhist priests; *Hō-in*, 法印, "Seal of the Law", is the highest title.

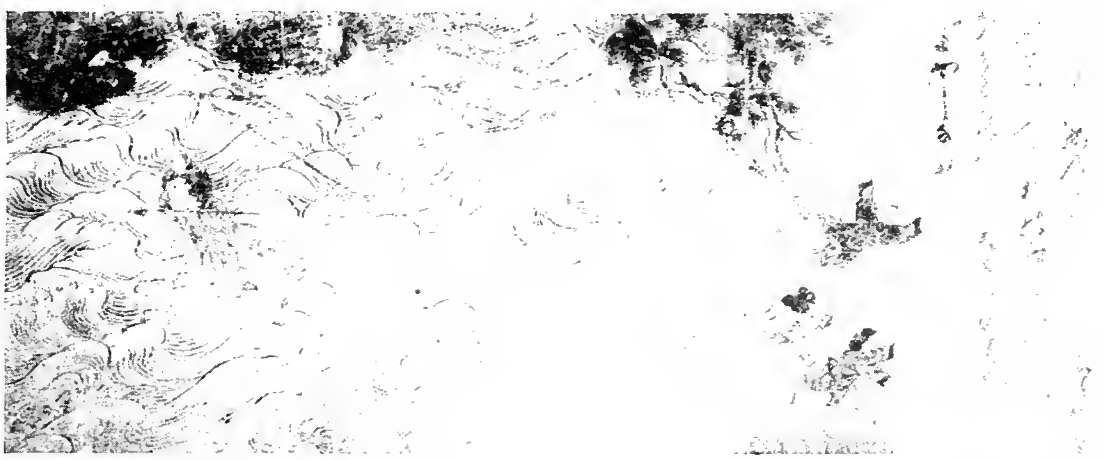


Fig. 36. Jizō as a priest with khakkhara and pearl, standing on a cloud, saves a child from the waves. From a makimono (*Jizō engi*) by KOSE ARIYASU (first half of the 14th century). *Kokkwa* Nr. 25, Pl. IV, upper scene.

the 13th century; explaining text written by JICHIN HŌSHŌ, 慈鎮和尚); KOSE MITSUYASU, 巨勢光康 (end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, one of the leaders of the Kose school; explaining text by YOSHIDA KENKŌ, 吉田兼好, the author of the *Tsurezure-gusa* (who lived 1282—1350); KOSE ARIYASU, 有康 (first half of the 14th century); KOSE ARIIE, 有家 (same time; explaining text by KYŌ-UN HŌSHI, 慶運法師); TOSA TAKAKANE, 土佐隆兼 (same time; explaining text by SESONJI DONO, 世尊寺殿, i. e. FUJIWARA NO YUKIFUSA, 藤原行房, who was killed in battle in 1330); IMAGAWA NORIMASA, 今川範政 (who in 1396 conquered Uesugi Ujinori and died in 1416; called Fuku-Shōgun, "Vice-Shōgun"; explaining text by the painter himself); TOSA MITSUNOBU, 光信 (who became chief of the edokoro, the bureau of drawing and painting, in 1496, and lived 1445—1543; this makimono is entitled *Jizō-zōshi*, 地藏雙紙). Further there are seven or eight other makimono's with texts, all made by unknown painters and writers and dealing with this Bodhisattva. Two scenes from that of Kose Ariyasu are reproduced in the *Kokkwa*[1] (cf. our picture 36), where Jizō saves a child from the waves. Another number of the same periodical[2] gives two scenes from the two scrolls, attributed to TOSA TAKAKANE and preserved in the famous *Yata* temple, mentioned above[3]. Mammei, one of the abbots of this shrine, is seen going to Hades, where Jizō is saving the sinners. There we read the following: "The style of arboreal drawing, the heavy colouring, as well as the genteel touch,

[1] Nr. 25, Pl. IV, p. 20.

[2] Nr. 180, Pl. VI and VII, pp. 237 sq. Those of Ariyasu and Ariie also treat the history of Jizō of Yata-dera.

[3] Sect. III, Ch. III, § 2.

remind one of the art of Takakane, but after all one fails to find here the latter's force. It is impossible to ascertain the real author, but no one will hesitate to attribute these pictures to a master artist of the Kasuga school, who must have lived at about the close of the Kamakura era".

## CHAPTER V.

## THE ASHIKAGA PERIOD (1334—1573) AND THE SUCCEEDING TIME TILL 1603.

### § 1. *Ashikaga Takauji.*

The Ashikaga period was a glorious time for Jizō's cult. TAKAUJI, 足利尊氏[1] (1305—1358), the first of the Ashikaga Shōguns, had the strongest belief in this Bodhisattva of all the great men in Japanese history.

We saw above[2], that Takauji in 1335 repeatedly despatched messengers to the *Ki no moto* temple to pray there for the peace of the empire, and that in 1338 he repaired the buildings of this sanctuary and presented it with rice-fields producing 800 koku. Also his successors worshipped the Jizō of Ki no moto with great devotion.

According to the tradition of the Jizō shrine in *Yatsu* (谷津) village, Sagami province, called *Ankokuji*, 安國寺, or "Temple which gives peace to the realm", Takauji erected temples of this name in all provinces, in order to have prayers offered up there (to Jizō) for the safety of the nation. He promoted the Jizō sanctuary of Yatsu which existed already under the name of *Zenyō-in*, 善養院, and gave it the new name of *Ankokuji*[3].

The Jizō of *Hōkaiji*, 寶戒寺, in *Komachi* (小町) village, Sagami province, was the *mamori honzon* or tutelary image of Takauji. There was also a Jizō picture, painted by this Shōgun himself, among the treasures of this shrine[4]. An immense number of Jizō images (the author says six hundred thousand, to give an idea of their enormous number), all carved by his order, were preserved in this very sanctuary[5].

The temple of *Egara Tenjin*, 荏柄天神, at Kamakura possessed a picture representing Jizō, which was drawn by Takauji and on which he had written the following eulogy: "Jizō-Son revealed to me in a dream, that I was to draw his effigy. Therefore I made this picture. As he everywhere blesses and saves (the beings of) this

[1] Who was Shōgun from 1338 to 1358. [2] Sect. III, Ch. I, § 3.

[3] *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō* (1841), Ch. XXV, Ashigara-shimo gōri, Sect. IV, p. 34.

[4] *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684), Ch. VII, p. 5; *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō*, Ch. LXXXVIII, Kamakura gōri, Sect. XX, p. 10.

[5] *Heki-san nichiroku*, 碧山日錄, quoted in the *Koji ruien*, 古事類苑, 宗敎部 —, p. 156.

world of sand (the present world), his virtuous actions (litt. his "roots of good"[1]) are inexhaustible."[2] A similar picture with the Shōgun's autographic praise of our Bodhisattva was found in *Seikenji*, 清見寺, a temple in Suruga province[3], as well as in the *Jizō-in* at *Tatsuta* in Owari province, where the same words, written in A. D. 1354, expressed Takauji's firm belief in Jizō.[4]

### § 2. *How the gentry of this time worshipped Jizō.*

#### A. *Fourteenth century.*

The *Tsurezure-gusa*[5] relates that the Naidaijin KUGA MICHIMOTO, 久我通基, carefully washed a wooden Jizō image in the water between the rice fields of *Kuga nawate*, 久我畷, at Kyōto. As to the *Taiheiki* (about 1382), this interesting work, from which we quoted several passages, mentions among the spots of divine manifestation *(reiken)* (where the deities often showed their supernatural power) the Jizō chapel of *Rokuhara*, 六波羅, near Kyōto. The *Masu kagami*[6], 増鏡, mentions the Jizō of *Kudoku-in*, 功德院, near *Saionji*, 西園寺, a magnificent temple on Kitayama, in the neighbourhood of the capital.

We saw above[7], that the Zen priest SŌKYO, who lived from A. D. 1290 to 1374, was considered to be a reincarnation of Jizō, and that the was held in high esteem by the Emperor Godaigo, the Shōgun Ashikaga Yoshiakira, and by Hosokawa Yoriyuki, the latter's *shitsuji*, 執事, or chief official, who erected a Zen temple devoted to Jizō's cult and appointed Sōkyo abbot of this shrine.

In 1317 MAKI TOMOTADA erected the *Jizō-in* at Tatsuta in Owari province in order to pray there for the happiness of his deceased wife's soul[8]. *Ya-hiroi* Jizō in *Jōkōmyōji* at Kamakura, who "picked up arrows" on the battlefield on behalf of ASHIKAGA TADAYOSHI, Takauji's brother (1307—1352), was Tadayoshi's private tutelary image (mamori honzon)[9]. *Hi-taki* Jizō, also called *Black Jizō*, of the *Nikai-dō* or Two-storied Jizō chapel in the compound of Kakuonji at Kamakura, who burned himself by saving the sinners in hell after having assumed the shape of a demon of the Netherworld, was worshipped by the *Shitsuji* of Kwantō, who in A. D. 1385 requested Bishop Rai-in to open this idol's eyes and to dedicate it for the second time[10].

In 1376 the Buddhist priest GIDŌ, 義堂, i. e. SHŪSHIN, 周信[11], at the request

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[1] 善根, zenkon. [2] *Shimpen Kamakurashi*, Ch. II, p. 15. [3] Ibidem.
[4] *Owari meisho zue, zempen* (1841), Ch. IV, p. 27.
[5] 徒然草, composed from 1334 to 1339 by YOSHIDA KENKŌ (KENKŌ HŌSHI) (1283 bis 1350); Kokubun taikwan, Nikki sōshi bu, p. 79.
[6] 1340—1350, Kokubun taikwan, rekishi bu, I, p. 45. [7] Sect. III, Ch. III, § 3.
[8] Above, Ch. III, § 3. [9] Above, Ch. II, § 6. [10] Above, Ch. III, § 2.
[11] Who lived 1325—1388; he was the author of the *Nikkōshū*, 日工集, in which book these details were found by Kawai Tsunehisa, the author of the *Shimpen Kamakura shi.*

of UESUGI YOSHINORI, 上杉能憲, the *Shitsuji* of Kwantō, residing in Kamakura, performed the ceremony of erecting the central pillar of the main hall of *Hōonji*, 法恩寺, a new Jizō temple at Kamakura, built by Yoshinori, who personally took part in the ceremony. Three hundred years later, the time of the author of the *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (1684), the Jizō image of this temple, which then stood in the *Hokkedō*, 法華堂, the *jibutsudō*, 持佛堂, or "Private Buddha chapel" of YORITOMO, was repaired, and in its interior a written document was found stating that "TAKUMA kamon Hōgen JŌKWŌ, 宅間掃部法眼淨宏, made this image and erected it on behalf of (i. e. at the request of) Uesugi Yoshinori"[1]. This JŌKWŌ was a well-known painter of the Takuma school, who was apparently also a sculptor.

### B. *Fifteenth century.*

When treating the Six Jizō's we mentioned the new temple dedicated to our Bodhisattva in A. D. 1495 by the Shōgun ASHIKAGA YOSHIZUMI at Roku Jizō village, near the capital[2].

In A. D. 1456 ASHIKAGA NARIUJI visited the *Black Jizō* of Shingon-in at Kamakura. This took place on the 24th day of the first month. The fact that NARIUJI came there in the beginning of the year was a sign of his strong belief in Jizō. Yet the Hachiman shrine at Tsuru-ga-oka was deemed the holiest sanctuary by this son of MOCHIUJI, the fourth Kwanryō of Kamakura, for there he went to pray before visiting any other temple in the new year. As to the Black Jizō, this was the same image which we mentioned above[3] as having a chapel in the compound of Kakuonji[4].

Further, the ancient Jizō shrine at Suzuka no Seki in Ise province, attributed to Dengyō Daishi, was, as we saw above[5], rebuilt in the Bummei era (1469—1486) after having burnt down in A. D. 1260, and the ceremony of opening the eyes of the image was performed by the famous Rinzai priest IKKYŪ OSHŌ.

Finally, two *Roku Jizō-tō* or "Six Jizō-stūpas" (pagodas) were erected in A. D. 1432 and 1444 in Higo province, as we learned from the *Higo kokushi*[6]. In Minami seki, 南關, a village in Tamana, a district of the same province, there was at the time of the author of the same work (A. D. 1772) a so-called *Iwa-Jizō*, 岩地藏, or "Rock-Jizō", which according to an inscription upon one of its sides had been erected in A. D. 1471. This image, probably carved in a rock, was said to be always wet at high tide on the 15th day of the first month. This is the day of the Chinese lantern festival, when spring is welcomed, the very day on which the fishermen of Amoy

[1] *Shimpen Kamakura shi*, Ch. II, p. 6. [2] Above, Ch. II, § 5. [3] Ch. V, § 2.

[4] *Kamakura nenjū gyōji*, 鎌倉年中行事, also called *Nariuji no nenjū gyōji*, 成氏年中行事, because it contains Nariuji's actions during a whole year; written in A. D. 1456 by EBINA SUETAKA, 海老名季高, a vassal of Nariuji; p. 24, 24th day of the first month.

[5] Ch. II, § 3. [6] Above, Ch. III, § 5.

worshipped Ti-tsang on the sacred island of P'u-to-shan, as we learned above from BOERSCHMANN'S diary[1]. This day of resurrection of nature seems to have become an important day in the cult of the saviour of the dead. As to the days specially devoted to him, these are, as we saw above, the 24th of each month (especially, of course, of the 7th month, when the gates of hell are open and the souls of the dead obtain food), and the 30th of the 7th month, Ti-tsang's birthday, in the evening of which the dead return to hell and the gates are closed. In the *Butsuzō zui*[2] Jizō is represented as the patron deity of the 24th day of each month.

### C. *Sixteenth century.*

The ancient Jizō sanctuary at *Ki no moto* was, as we stated above,[3] daily visited by ASAI SUKEMASA (1495—1546), his son HISEMASA (1524—1573) and his grandson NAGAMASA (1545—1573), because this Jizō in A. D. 1516 had heard Sukemasa's prayer and had given great power to him and his house. Also TOYOTOMI HIDEYOSHI was very grateful to this Jizō and in 1576 built a large temple for him, because his divine protection had caused Hideyoshi's recovery from a severe disease[4].

Even on seven mirrors, made in A. D. 1531 and considered to be the *shintai* or "god-bodies" of *Sannō*, one of the principal Shintō deities, Jizō was represented, seated on the lotus and carrying his pearl and staff[5].

As to *Shōgun Jizō*, the patron deity of the warrior class, in the Tembun era (1532—1554) his image was placed at the main gate of the castle of Iihitsu by the general YAMAMURO TSUNETAKA, that he might protect the castle against the enemy[6]. TAKEDA SHINGEN, one of the great men of Kai province, who lived 1521 to 1573, used to pray to the Shōgun Jizō of Hōzō-in on Atago yama, who in 1584 heard the prayer of Ieyasu's vassals and caused Ieyasu to conquer Hideyoshi[7]. We also saw how in 1539 TAKEDA SHINGEN erected and worshipped an image of Shōgun Jizō in his camp and after having beaten his enemies built a shrine for it[8]. In 1567 the same great daimyō dedicated a Jizō chapel in the compound of *Hōzenji*, 法善寺, a temple in Kagami village, Koma district, Kai province[9]. In 1563 ANAYAMA NOBUGIMI, 穴山信君, presented one *kwammon* (one thousand *momme* in cash) to the Shōgun Jizō of *Chōsenji*, 長泉寺, a temple erected in 1522 in Shimoyama village, in the same district[10].

The tutelary deity of the Kishiwada castle in Izumi province was a big Jizō image which according to the tradition had been carried ashore by an octopus *(tako)* in the Kemmu era (A. D. 1334—1335). As the empire was in great disorder

[1] Sect. II, Ch. V, § 5. [2] Ch. III, p. 4 b. [3] Ch. I, § 3.
[4] Ibidem. [5] Above, Ch. II, § 2. [6] Above, Ch. II, § 6. [7] Ibidem.
[8] Ibidem. [9] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXXV, 佛寺部, Nr. 13, p. 7.
[10] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXVII, 佛寺部,Nr. 15, p. 8.

at that time, nobody worshipped the idol, which was thrown into the moat of the Kishiwada castle. In the Tenshō era (1573—1591) warriors from Kii province came to attack the castle, but from the moat a tall bonze rose and brandishing a sword fought against them with such an impetuous force, that they fled in great fright. Then the mysterious bonze disappeared, but an octopus was often seen swimming in the moat. The lord of the castle, a great general, ordered his vassals to catch the animal, and while they were seeking for it they found the Jizō image instead of the octopus. The general, convinced that the tall priest had been this Jizō himself, made it the principal idol of *Tenshōji*, 天性寺, in Kishiwada machi, 岸和田町 (where it still stood in 1700) and worshipped it carefully. From that time it was called *Tako Jizō*, 蛸地藏, or "Octopus Jizō[1].

In the Eiroku era (1558—1569) TAKEDA SHINGEN placed an ancient Jizō image, attributed to GYŌGI BOSATSU, in *Tōkōji*, also in Koma district, and afterwards ASANO NAGAMASA, Hideyoshi's brother-in-law, presented five bags of unhulled rice to this shrine[2].

As to *Koyasu Jizō*, we saw above[3] that HŌJŌ UJIMASA in 1568 built a chapel of this deity in *Odawara*, Sagami province, and that he afterwards again sent offerings to this sanctuary.

The warriors of this time also erected Jizō images, on behalf of the dead. Thus in 1549 the general SHIONOYA YOSHITSUNA tried to place his father's soul under the Bodhisattva's protection, and another stone image of Jizō, the principal idol of Hōjuji in Iida village (Kai province) was the grave post of IIDA TORAHARU, who died in 1575. A third idol, also made of stone and representing Jizō, the leader to Paradise, stood in another village of the same province and wore the inscription: "Grave of Ōmura, Lord of Iga" (a vassal of the Takeda family, who lived in the Tenshō era, 1573—1591)[4].

CHŌSOKABE MOTOCHIKA, 長曾我部元親 (1539—1599), the famous *Tosa no kami*, Nobunaga's great general, who under Hideyoshi's reign took part in the expedition against Korea, was a devout believer in Jizō, as we learn from the *Zensanshi*[5]. The *mamori honzon* or tutelary god of IKEDA TERUMASA, 池田輝政 (1564—1613), another celebrated general of Nobunaga, afterwards became the principal idol of *Jizōji* in Sumoto machi, Awaji province[6].

Especially the gentry of Kai province had a great belief in Jizō's divine power, and in none of its districts his shrines were so numerous as in Koma district, where beyond those mentioned above *Kenshōji*, 見性寺, in Egusa village, as well as *Chōsei-*

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[1] *Senshūshi* (A. D. 1700), cf. above, Ch. II, § 6, Ch. IV, p. 16.

[2] Above, Ch. I, § 5. [3] Ch. III, § 1. [4] Above, Ch. III, § 3.

[5] Ch. VIII, p. 40; as to this work cf. above, Ch. III, § 5.

[6] *Awaji meisho zue*, 淡路名所圖會, written by AKATSUKI KANENARI. Who in 1861 wrote the *Unkin zuihitsu* (cf. above, Ch. III, § 2).

*in*, 長盛院, dated from this time. The former temple was built by EGUSA NOBUYASU, 江草信康, who lived in the Tenshō era (1573—1591), the latter by the general KANAMARU TORAYOSHI, 金丸虎義, in the Tembun era (1532—1554)[1].

Thus we see the enormous influence of the cult of our gentle Bodhisattva upon the mighty warriors of this time.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE TOKUGAWA PERIOD AND THE MEIJI ERA (A. D. 1603—1912).

### § 1. *Possession and punishment.*

In the former periods the Jizō cult was practised mainly by the higher classes (especially by the warriors) and by the priests. The seventeenth century, however, saw it spread among the lower people. This was the time when our Bodhisattva became, next to Amida and Kwannon, the most popular deity of daily life, as we know him at the present day. In accordance with this fact a large number of tales became current about his divine power, not only in assisting and protecting his worshippers, but also in *possessing* and *severely punishing* those who had defiled or derided his images. On having come into the hands of the lower classes, the gentle Bodhisattva, whom the gentry had made their tutelary god even on the battlefield, became a god of wrath to sacrilegious people and lascivious priests.

The *Kwōsekishū*[2] (A. D. 1692) gives several tales about ancient stone images of Jizō, which severely punished those who had defiled them, even if they had unintentionally committed this sacrilege. A woman in Tamatsukuri at Ōsaka, who after having washed her *futano*, a cloth worn by women around the loins, had hung it out to dry upon an old Jizō image, that very night *got mad* and ran about quite naked. This was the curse of the Bodhisattva, who possessed her and loudly cried through her mouth: "Why did you defile me by hanging your dirty cloth upon me? This is a very wicked deed, which shall be punished severely unless you quickly wash and clean me." Her neighbours, who heard these words, advised her mother to wash the image with clear water and worship it with offerings of incense and flowers, praying that it might forgive the great sin committed by her daughter. When she did so, the patient actually recovered. This was also the case with a little boy, who by mistake had defiled the same image and was punished by getting severely ill[3].

A man who climbed upon the shoulders of a Jizō on Higashi-yama at Kyōto, to repair the roof of the shed in which the image was placed, felt his whole body swell up that very night and died within three days. Heavy sexual diseases were the

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[1] *Kaikokushi*, Ch. LXXXIII, Nr. 11, p. 10, and Ch. LXXXV, Nr. 13, p. 1.
[2] About this work cf. Sect. III, Ch. I, § 5.
[3] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. I, p. 42.

consequences of defiling an old stone Jizō in the Kaji street at Ōsaka or even of hitting it with a pebble[1].

A peasant in Yamahata village, Takayasu district, Kawachi province, in A. D. 1684 with his spade broke a stone Jizō, standing near his rice field. The head of the idol was cut off and fell down on the field, but the peasant immediately got a swelling on his head. For a year he suffered heavily, and at last he died with a broken neck, just on the anniversary of his sacrilege. His son, who was afraid that his father would be punished in hell, begged the priest of a neighbouring temple to say masses for his soul[2].

Wiping the face of the Jizō of *Jūrin-in*, 十輪院, in Sakai (Izumi province) with a coarse towel was punished by disease (painfully swollen feet) and recovery was not obtained by the culprits before the abbot of the temple had made a *goma* offering[3] and had apologized on their behalf[4]. As to the Jizō of the Amida shrine in Nagano village, Kawachi province, if the doors of the *butsudan*, in which his image stood, were left open at night, the Bodhisattva's anger was evident by the fact that the pilgrims who slept near the *butsudan* underwent *makura-gaeshi* ("pillow-changing"), i. e. they were turned from east to west during their sleep[5].

A man who had hit with a bullet the stone Jizō standing at the roadside near Daifuku village, 大福村, in Yamato province, fainted at the same moment and became a cripple for his whole life[6]. Another Jizō, at Kyōto, who in a dream had in vain ordered a lascivious priest to leave his temple, in a second dream pushed his staff into the man's right eye, which he lost after having suffered much pain[7].

Disease and death were the consequences of the crime of a scoundrel who tried to violate a woman, praying in a Jizō temple at Iogawa, 五百河, in Ōshū. The Bodhisattva himself, in the shape of a priest with a khakkhara in his hand, came to the rescue and angrily ordered the fellow to go away. Then the latter drew his sword, cut down the divine priest and fled. The next day the villagers found the Jizō image lying in the garden, with a sword-cut on its body. Now the culprit, who was among the big crowd which rapidly gathered before the gate, understood the heinousness of his crime, but his repentance came too late, for he soon fell ill and died. The other villagers were all convinced that Jizō had punished him[8].

### § 2. *Emmyō Jizō, the "Lengthener of Life".*

#### A. *The sūtra on Emmyō Jizō.*

The *Bussetsu Emmyō Jizō Bosatsu kyō*, 佛說延命地藏菩薩經, or "Sūtra spoken by Buddha on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, the Lengthener of Life" is the work

[1] L. c., Ch. I, p. 43. [2] L. c., Ch. II, p. 2. [3] Cf. above, Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1.
[4] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. II, p. 3. [5] Ibidem, cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. I, § 5.
[6] *Jizō Bosatsu riyaku shū* (1691), Ch. II, p. 28. [7] L. c., Ch. I, p. 20.
[8] *Jizō Bosatsu reiken ki* (1684), Ch. V, p. 7.

of a Japanese priest of the Tokugawa period, although it pretends to be a translation from the Sanscrit by the famous AMOGHAVAJRA (A. D. 704—774), mentioned above[1] as the translator of the "Sūtra on the maṇḍala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas" and the propagator of the Tantric doctrine in China. I possess an edition of this book, dating from 1679, entitled *Emmyō Jizō kyō shō*, 延命地藏經鈔, or "Copy of the *Emmyō Jizō kyō*", with a preface and an extensive commentary of the Japanese çramaṇa RYŌTA[2], written in Empō 6 (1678). This priest states in the preface, that the place of assembly mentioned in this sūtra is the same as that of the "*Sūtra on the Ten Wheels*", namely Mount Khalatika (Kha-la-ti-ya)[3]. We may add that also in the "*Rules on the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha*" the Buddha is said to have explained the Law on this mountain[4].

The author of the *Emmyō Jizō kyō* evidently borrowed all the ideas, laid down in this sūtra, from the sūtras and other works, mentioned above; here and there, however, he added something of his own invention.

RYŌTA further remarks that, although there are no *dhāraṇī* explained in this work, yet its mystic nature is evident from this sentence: "Emmyō Bosatsu is the original shape of the central Fudō, (explained by) the character 阿[5]. Fudō is explained as meaning *Fudō Myō-ō*, the well-known deity, and the character 阿 as the sound *a*, the "mother of the tantras", i. e. the mother of all other mystic sounds. This sound seems to explain which kind of original shape is meant. The Tantric school applied the signs of the *tanca* writing, used in Tibetan Buddhist works, to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, giving them a mystic meaning, as we remarked above with regard to Kshitigarbha[6]. 阿 is the transcription of the first of these fifty mystic sounds, which we find mentioned and explained in MIURA KENSUKE'S *Bukkyō iroha jiten*[7]. The expression "central" perhaps indicates Fudō Myō-ō's position in a maṇḍala, as we see him standing in the centre of the left group of the great maṇḍala of Tōji in the Musée Guimet[8]. It is evident, at any rate, that the author in composing this sūtra also used mystic works.

RYŌTA states that this sūtra is mentioned neither in the *Jōgenroku*, 貞元錄, or "Records of the Jōgen era (1636—1637)" nor in the *Hakke hiroku*, 八家祕錄, or "Secret records of the eight families". This fact seems to indicate that it was written after 1637, which agrees with the statement of a modern Japanese authority (quoted by me in my treatise on the Tengu[9]), who declared it to be the work of a Ja-

[1] Sect. I, Ch. I, § 4. [2] 亮汰.
[3] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 3.
[4] Cf. Sect. II, Ch. II, § 1.
[5] This sentence is found in Ch. II, p. 22a: 延命菩薩中心不動阿字本體
[6] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5 and Sect. III, Ch. III, § 3.
[7] Vol. III, p. 318, s. v. *a*, where this mystic sign is treated.
[8] Cf. DE MILLOUÉ, *Petit Guide illustré du Musée Guimet*, 4e recension, p. 240.
[9] Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXVI, Part 3, p. 87.

panese author of the Tokugawa period. HIRATA[1] stated that it was written in Japan, which is evident from the language.

The sūtra is divided into two chapters, the first of which contains the Buddha's praise of Jizō, while in the second the Bodhisattva himself appears and promises to save the living beings of the present and the future worlds. One day, when the Buddha in a great assembly of bhikshus, Bodhisattvas, Devas, Nāgas, Yakshas etc., who from the ten quarters had come to Mount Khalatika, had spoken on some topic of the Mahāyāna doctrine, Çakra, called the "Stainless birth", 無垢生, asked him how the living beings of the period of declining Dharma, after the Buddha's entering Nirvāṇa and after the relapse of the Saddharma and the Pratirūpaka periods, should be saved. The Buddha answered: "There is a Bodhisattva called *Emmyō Jizō Bosatsu*, who every day at daybreak enters all the Samādhis[2] and errs about on the Six Roads (gati), relieving (the beings of these Roads) from their sufferings and giving them joy. If those being on the three (evil) roads (animals, pretas and inhabitants of hell) see this Bodhisattva's body and hear his name, they are reborn among men or devas, or in Sukhāvatī. And if those being on the three good roads (devas, asuras and men), hear his name, they are reborn in a Buddha land after having received their present retribution. How much more certain is their reaching their aim (to be reborn in Sukhāvatī), if by remembering (his name) the eyes of their hearts are opened! Further, this Bodhisattva has obtained (the power of bestowing) ten kinds of blessings, to wit: easy delivery of women, completeness (i. e. good condition) of the six roots (eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body and thought); complete getting rid of all diseases; a long life; sharp-wittedness and wisdom; fullness of treasures; love and respect from the people; complete ripening of cereals and rice; protection of the spirits; testification of the Great Bodhi. Further, he takes away the eight great frights, i. e. he causes wind and rain to blow and fall in time, other countries not to rise (against that of his worshippers), one's own country not to get into rebellion; by his influence sun and moon are not eclipsed, the stars do not change, demons and spirits do not come, famine and thirst do not break out, and the people do not fall ill."

The Buddha continued: "If in future worlds there shall be living beings who receive and keep this sūtra and respectfully make offerings to this Bodhisattva, there shall be no calamity within a hundred yojanas, and no unlucky omens of evil dreams or evil faces (shall annoy them); demons and spirits, Kumbhāṇḍas etc. shall never get a chance (to seize them); Celestial dogs (Tengu) and Earth-lords, 土公, the Spirit of the Great Year[3] (the planet Jupiter), spirits of mountains and

[1] *Kokon yōmikō*, Ch. I.

[2] About the different sets of Samādhi cf. KERN, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 56.

[3] 太歳神宮, the planet Jupiter, the revolution of which in twelve years constitutes a "great year" (cf. GILES, Dict., Nr. 10 382).

of trees, of rivers and seas, of water and fire, spirits of dearth and famine, spirits of graves, snake spirits, spirits of magic formulae and curses, spirits of manifest power, spirits of the roads, of the furnace and the house, etc., all these spirits, when hearing this sūtra or this Bodhisattva's name, shall spit out all their heterodox feelings and shall spontaneously understand the original emptiness (the unreality of all phenomena) and soon testify of Bodhi."

At Çakra's question as to the way in which Emmyō Bosatsu moves about on the six Roads and how he succeeds in saving the living beings, the Buddha enumerates the numberless shapes which Jizō assumes (that of a Buddha, Bodhisattva, Pratyekabuddha, çrāvaka, Brahma, Çakra, Yama, Vaiçravana, sun, moon, stars, a cakravartī rāja, a lower king, a monk or a nun, a merchant or a peasant, an elephant or a lion, an ox or a horse, the great Earth or the great Sea, etc. etc., in short the shapes of all the beings of the three worlds of desire, form and formlessness), his body being a Dharma body, independent and omnipresent. Thus he saves the living beings of the Six Gati. If the living beings of the future shall not be capable of total conversion, 發心, they only must with their whole hearts worship Emmyō Bosatsu and make offerings to him, and then swords and sticks and poison shall be powerless against them, spells, curses and demons shall turn their power against those who sent them off.

When Çakra asked, why this Bodhisattva is called *Emmyō* and what is his appearance, the Buddha answered: "The true, good Bodhisattva is called *Nyo-i-rin*[1], 如意輪, or "Wheel which grants all desires", because his heart is bright and perfect. He is called *Kwanjizai*, 観自在[2], or "Contemplating Independent One", because his heart is free from obstacles or restraints. He is called *Emmyō*, 延命, or "Lengthener of Life", because his heart is free from birth or death. He is called *Jizō*, or "Receptacle of the Earth", because his heart is exempt from breaking, 無摧破. He is called *Daibosatsu* or "Great Bodhisattva", because his heart is limitless, and Mahāsattva, because his heart is formless."

"Then the Great Earth shook six times, and Emmyō Bosatsu appeared out of the earth, with his right knee bent and with his (right) hand supporting his ear. His left knee was stretched down, while his (left) hand kept a khakkhara[3]. He said to the Buddha: "Every day at daybreak I enter the samādhis, and entering all the hells I relieve the inhabitants from their sufferings; and in the Buddhaless worlds I shall save the living beings, so that the present and the future ages shall be well led to

[1] *Cintācakra*, cf. 如意寶珠, *nyo-i hōju*, the *cintāmaṇi* or "precious pearl which grants all desires".

[2] This title, as well as that of *Nyo-i-rin*, is the special title of Avalokiteçvara.

[3] This pose reminds us of the "*Enchanter's pose*" (*Lalita*), mentioned by WADDELL, *Lamaism*, p. 336, who says the following: "After the manner of "The Enchanter" Mañjuçrī. Here the *right* leg hangs down with an inclination slightly inwards and the *left* is loosely bent." In our text, however, the right knee is said to be bent and the left stretched down.

salvation. If after the Buddha's extinguishing all men and women wish to obtain my blessings, and if they do not ask about the unluckiness of the days or discuss about impure matters, and if they obey and feed their parents and serve their teachers and elders; and if their words and appearances are constantly harmonious (peaceful); if they do not excite the people or kill them or commit debauchery; if they on the ten fasting days[1], or on the six fasting days[2], or on the eighteenth and twenty fourth days only read this Sūtra with their whole hearts and call my name, I by means of the majestic, divine power of the Dharma eye shall forthwith turn their karma and cause them to obtain manifest fruit (of these virtuous deeds), and I shall relieve them from the punishments of the Avīci hell, and they shall obtain Bodhi'."

Then follows Jizō's great vow, not to reach Buddhaship before having saved all the living beings. The Buddha praised him and intrusted to him the living beings of the future wicked ages, which should suffer punishments. "Lead the present and the future worlds", said he, "so well, that they do not for a moment fall upon an evil path, much less into the Avīci hell." The Bodhisattva answered: "Buddha venerated by the world, be without care; I shall save the living beings of the six gati. If there are heavy sufferings to be undergone, I myself shall as a substitute receive these sufferings (in the place of the sinners), otherwise I shall not take Perfect Enlightement."

Then the Buddha praised him again as the great friend and leader of the sentient beings in birth and death, who should be their refuge in the unhappy period of the declining Dharma, when war and plunder should prevail.

Thereupon all the worlds shook six times, and the Bodhisattvas Mañjuçrī, Samantabhadra, Vajragarbha, 金剛藏, Ākāçagarbha and Avalokiteçvara vowed not to receive Buddhaship if they not should enlighten the hearts of those who in future should hear this sūtra or Emmyō Jizō's name, and if they (the Bodhisattvas) should not appear before them (the believers) and entirely fulfill their wishes.

Brahma, Çakra and the four Deva kings rained heavenly flowers upon the Tathāgata and vowed to protect those who, not disregarding the ideas of right and wrong and not despising the rewards and punishments, should keep to this sūtra and reflect upon this Bodhisattva. "We and our relatives", said they, "shall embrace and protect them, and we shall not leave them day or night, and we shall cause their countries to be exempt from all calamities within a hundred yojanas, and their people to get peace and rest. Their cereals shall ripen, their wishes shall be fulfilled. If not, we shall not be named Protectors of the world and we shall not return to the Original Intelligence."

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[1] The first, eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty third, twenty fourth, twenty eighth, twenty ninth and thirthieth days of each month.

[2] The eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, twenty third, twenty ninth and thirtieth days of each month.

"At that time *two boys* stood as attendants at Jizō's left and right sides. One of them, who stood on the left, and was called *Shōzen*, 掌善, the "Ruler of the good", was white and held a white lotus flower in his hand; he tempers and rules the Dharma nature. The other, named *Shō-aku*, 掌惡, or "Ruler of the evil", who stood on the right, was red and held a vajra staff in his hand; he takes away and suppresses ignorance[1]. The Buddha instructed the big crowd as follows: 'You ought to know that these two boys are the two hands and the two feet of the Dharma nature and of the ignorance. 時二童子侍立左右,一名掌善在左白色持白蓮華調御法性,一名掌惡在右赤色持金剛金杵除伏無明,佛告大衆,汝等當知是二童子法性無明兩手兩足. Emmyō Bosatsu is the original shape of the central Fudō, (explained by) the character 阿. If there are living beings who know this nature (of Jizō), they certainly shall bring about their aim, i. e. they shall extinguish the three poisons (avarice, anger and lust) and obtain independent power. If they wish to be reborn in a Buddha land, they shall get this birth according to their wish. If all the living beings of future ages revere and worship Emmyō Bosatsu, no doubt or error shall arise in their hearts, all the wishes of their life time shall be fulfilled, and they shall afterwards be reborn in Sukhāvatī and obtain "forbearance of the birthless" (explained by "knowledge of the True Reason"[2]).' When the Buddha had finished this sūtra all those assembled were very much rejoiced, and accepting his words with faith they respectfully received them and put them into practice."

The description of Jizō's appearance and of that of his two attendants, Jizō's coming out of the earth and his declaring his willingness to suffer as a substitute for the sinners, and the explanation of the meaning of the two attendants are the most interesting points of this sūtra. As these two boys are also represented on the pictures of the "Doctrine of the wonderful Repentance (practised in worship of) the Ten Merciful Kings", and of the *Yuh lih*, described above,[3] they were evidently not invented in Japan. Apparently they are the good and the menacing genii of this Bodhisattva. As I remarked before[4], Mr. PETRUCCI had the kindness of pointing out to me the existence of such genii accompanying Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and it struck me at once that this fact was in accordance with the words of this sūtra. Further, Mr. PETRUCCI kindly gave me a photograph of a wooden Jizō image in his possession, accompanied by the two attendants with the lotus and the

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[1] 無明, "lack of clear understanding", i. e. *avidyā*, ignorance, the first of the twelve *Nidānas*, "causes", links in the chain of cause and effect. Being the error of deeming transient things to be permanent, it is the root of all the other Nidānas. Cf. KERN, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 48.

[2] 無生忍, explained by the commentator as 智證眞理.

[3] Above, Sect. II, Ch. I, §§ 2 and 3.

[4] Sect. I, Ch. II, § 3. Fudō Myō-ō is often accompanied by two similar attendants, also with lotus and staff or club. This is e. g. the case with a bronze statue of this Vidyārāja in the Leiden Ethnographical Museum.



Fig. 37. Jizō as a priest with pearl and khakkhara, accompanied by his two young attendants, *Shōzen* (benevolent. carrying a lotus) and *Shō-aku* (menacing, carrying a stick or club). Wooden image in the possession of Mr PETRUCCI, Brussels.

staff (fig. 37). I remember to have seen a little shrine with a wooden Jizō image, at the inside of the doors of which these attendants were painted exactly in the some way as they are described in this sūtra. The *Emmyō Jizō kyō* may have intensified the belief in this Bodhisattva, which was already very strong in these days, after having for centuries enjoyed special favour of the highest classes of Japan.

B. *Temples of Emmyō Jizō.*

We learned from a passage of the *Shimpen Kamakura shi*[1], quoted above[2], that there was an *Emmyōji* or "Shrine of the Lengthener of Life" in the Kome-chō at Kamakura, with *Hadaka Jizō*, a naked, female image, as its principal idol. The name of this shrine indicates that at that time (A. D. 1684) the Bodhisattva was worshipped there as the "Lengthener of Life".

The *Edo meisho zue*[3] states that the Emmyō Jizō of *Shōshuji*, 松秀寺, in *Hiroo*, 廣尾, had very much *reiken*, i. e. miraculous power. A large number of pilgrims continually flocked to his shrine, and as they used to fix a number of days for praying to him, the people called him *Hikagiri*, 日限, or "Day-limit" Jizō. This was at the end of the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

According to the *Shimotsuke kokushi*[4] (written in 1850) the principal image of the *Emmyō Jizō-dō* (堂) in *Utsunomiya*, 宇都宮, Kawachi district, on the road to Nikkō, was a standing Jizō, about 9 shaku long, inside of which a small tutelary idol, left by the priest SŌ-EN, 宗圓 (A. D. 1032—1111), was preserved.

[1] Ch. VII, p. 16. [2] Sect. III, Ch. III, § 4. [3] Ch. III, p. 27.
[4] Ch. VII, p. 26; about this book cf. above, Ch. III, § 1.

Another chapel of the same name stands on the left side of the *Niō*-gate of Asakusadera in Tōkyō. From the Anei era (1772—1780) down to the present day many pilgrims visit this chapel, the image of which is called *Ingwa Jizō*,[1] 因果, by the people. Unglazed earthen vessels *(kawarake)*, filled with salt, are offered to him. According to the *Asakusa shi*, 淺草志, there were eleven prayer-wheels near this image; if these wheels turned to the right, this was a sign that the prayers should be fulfilled, but if they turned to the left, there was no hope of success[2].

As to the name *Ingwa Jizō*, this was also given to an old image of the Bodhisattva, found somewhere in the mountains and erected before the *tamagaki* (picket fence) of *Inari jinja* at Nishi-no-miya (Settsu province). Prayers made to this image were sure to be heard[3].

### § 3. *Seventeenth century.*

The *Kwōsekishū* (A. D. 1692) which gave us some tales about divine punishment of sacrilegious people, and about protection against lightning, fire and thieves, as well as about Jizō's bestowing easy birth upon women living near his sanctuary[4], also contains a legend concerning his protecting a little boy against his cruel stepmother. She had forced the child to offer *nigiri-meshi* (i. e. *musubī*, rice made into balls) to a stone Jizō near Hōryūji at Nara, where she lived near by, and had ordered him to put the rice into Jizō's hands, although she knew that he could not reach them. When the poor boy, whom she refused all food if he did not obey, supplicated the image to take the rice, the merciful Bodhisattva stretched the hand in which he held his staff and accepted the offering. Then the boy went home and said that Jizō had taken the offering, whereupon the woman, thinking that he had thrown the rice into the gutter, became very angry and beat him severely. But the weeping child begged her to go and look herself. Then she went to the image and was astonished to see that Jizō held half of the rice in his hand, while grains sticking near his mouth were evidence of his having eaten the other half. Deeply moved by this sight, she understood how Jizō had protected the child against her cruelty, and thenceforth treated the boy as if she were his own mother. This story, spreading rapidly to the neighbouring villages, attracted crowds of pilgrims to this sacred image of Jizō-Son, to whom they offered and prayed to obtain his mighty protection[5].

Another passage of the same work[6] tells us how in A. D. 1648 a man in Ōtsu (Izumi province), who intended to build a new house, dreamt that a high priest appeared to him and said: "I live in the ground on which your house is to be built; please dig me out beforehand". He actually found a stone Jizō, exactly similar

[1] "Cause and effect".

[2] *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 141 (May, 1897), p. 8.

[3] *Ryūtei hikki*, 柳亭筆記, written by RYŪTEI TANEHIKO, 柳亭種彥 (1782—1842); Ch. I, p. 53.

[4] Above, Ch. III, § 1. [5] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. II, p. 11. [6] Ch. II, p. 1.



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Another passage of the same work[6] tells us how in A. D. 1648 a man in Ōtsu (Izumi province), who intended to build a new house, dreamt that a high priest appeared to him and said: "I live in the ground on which your house is to be built; please dig me out beforehand". He actually found a stone Jizō, exactly similar

[1] "Cause and effect".
[2] *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 141 (May, 1897), p. 8.
[3] *Ryūtei hikki*, 柳亭筆記, written by RYŪTEI TANEHIKO, 柳亭種彥 (1782—1842); Ch. I, p. 53.
[4] Above, Ch. III, § 1. [5] *Kwōsekishū*, Ch. II, p. 11. [6] Ch. II, p. 1.

to the priest of his dream. The people built a little chapel for the image, which they worshipped with offerings of incense, flowers and lights.

Of the *Jizō Bosatsu reiken ki* (1684) and the *Jizō Bosatsu riyaku shū* (1691), from which works we quoted several tales about Jizō's divine power in curing the sick, giving easy birth, punishing evil priests and sacrilegious laymen, and working as a substitute for a devout peasant on the fields of his lord, the former work gives also the following story[1]. A married couple had a very strong belief in the Jizō of an old temple in Matsushima village (Ōshū), and on the 18th and 24th of every month they went to this shrine and spent the night there, praying for "*birai no zenkwa*", 未來の善果, "good fruits (i. e. happiness) in future (existences)". One day a severe fire broke out in the village, and many houses were burnt down, but their house, although surrounded by fire, escaped in a miraculous way. A little boy assisted them in taking their furniture out of the house, and disappeared as soon as the fire was extinguished. That night he appeared to them in their dreams and said: "My feet are burnt for your sake." When going to the temple they saw that the feet of the Jizō image were burnt, and understood that the Bodhisattva himself had assisted them and saved their house.

The *Seiyō zakki* (A. D. 1656) and the *Garan kaiki ki* (A. D. 1689) were quoted above, the former work with regard to Shōgun Jizō of Atago[2], the latter concerning the religious performances which from the 14th to the 24th day of the third month took place at the Jizō shrine of *Mibu* in the Shijō district of Kyōto[3] and about the ceremonies in the temple of *Koyasu Jizō* in Tsuna district, Awaji province[4].

The *Shimpen Kamakura shi* (A. D. 1684)[5] mentions a *tsuji-dō*, 辻堂, or "chapel at a crossroad", with an image of *Shioname Jizō*, 塩嘗地藏, or "Salt-tasting Jizō", to which the salt traders of *Mu-ura*, 六浦, used to offer salt when going to Kamakura to sell their ware. There was a legend which said that this image had formerly emitted light till a trader had thrown it down to cause it to taste salt. With regard to salt offerings made to Jizō we may refer to the passage of the *Honchō zokugen shi*, quoted above[6], where a *kawarake* (an unglazed earthen vessel) was said to be offered to *Hanakake Jizō* of Honseiji, in Fukagawa district at Yedo, by grateful patients cured by his divine protection. Also *Ingwa Jizō* of Asakusa is worshipped in the same way[7].

Another instance of the curious way in which the people used to explain quite simple names like *Shioname Jizō*, who of course was called so on account of the salt offerings made to him, is the legend connected with the name of *Dokomo Jizō*, "Everywhere Jizō" in *Shōkaku-in*, 正學院, at *Tsuru-ga-oka*, which image in olden times had stood in a chapel in the compound of *Chiganji*, 智岸寺, in Kamakura. Although

[1] Ch. IV, p. 19. [2] Above, Ch. II, § 6. [3] Above, Ch. II, § 1.
[4] Above, Ch. III, § 1. [5] Ch. II, p. 83. [6] Above, Ch. III, § 5.
[7] Above, this Chapter, § 2.

the name of this "Omnipresent Jizō" needs no further explication, the people invented a story to explain it. They said that one day he had appeared to the guardian of his chapel, when this priest had decided to leave the place because he was so extremely poor that he had nothing to offer to the Bodhisattva, and that he had said to him: "*Doko mo, doko mo*", "Everywhere, everywhere". The priest understood the meaning of these words, namely that wherever he went he should find misery, because the world is filled with it. Then he decided to stay, and remained there to his death[1].

The *Yedo susume* (1677) told us how *Shōgun Jizō* of Atago yama in the Shiba district of Yedo was believed to protect his believers against their enemies and against fire[2], and the *Kyō-warabe* (1658) mentioned the cult of *Haraobi no Jizō* by pregnant women[3]. According to the *Nanto meisho shū*[4] (1675) a very small Jizō image, called *Yonaki*, 夜泣, *no Jizō* or "Jizō who wept at night", only one shaku long, was hidden in the principal idol of the *Nembutsudō*, 念佛堂, at Nara, which also represented our Bodhisattva. This small idol, made of aloes wood, was said to have been the tutelary deity of Itojo, a courtesan who wore it on her body. A Buddhist priest heard this Jizō crying like a child in the midst of the night, apparently because he disliked this immoral company. He asked and obtained the idol and made a big Jizō image inside of which he placed the small one.

Another *Yonaki Jizō* (of *Daijōji*, 大淨寺, at *Okano*, 岡野) is mentioned in the *Rōō chawa*[5] (1742), where the 24th day of the month is said to be the day of his festival.

The *Setsuyō gundan* (1698), which gave us information about ancient Jizō images worshipped in those days and attributed to Gyōgi Bosatsu, Kōbō Daishi, Jikaku Daishi, Eshin sōzu and Jōchō, as well as about Jizō's healing the sick, giving easy birth, acting as a substitute, saving the souls from hell and leading them to paradise, this same work mentions a *Jizō-zuka*, 地藏塚, or "Jizō-grave" in *Saīdera mura*, 佐伊寺村, Shimanoshimo district, Settsu province. This spot was called thus because in olden times a brilliant light which rose from the earth had led to the discovery of a Jizō image, lying in the ground[6]. A *Yo-ake*, 夜明, or "Daybreak" Jizō, whose name might indicate his function of "Enlightener of the Darkness (of Hell)", was worshipped in a chapel in the compound of *Chōshinji*, 超心寺, in the Nishiteramachi at Ōsaka[7].

In our paragraph on Jizō as the healer of the sick[8], we related how in 1673 EIKŌ, the Daimyō of Sanuki, and in 1692 TOKUGAWA TSUNAEDA, Daimyō of Mito, successfully prayed to Jizō for recovery from intermittent fever.

1 *Shimpen Kamakura shi*, Ch. IV, 22.
2 Above, Ch. II, § 6. 3 Above, Ch. III, § 1. 4 Ch. II, p. 6.
5 *Kinsei kidan zenshū* (Zoku Teikoku bunko, Vol. XLVII), p. 356.
6 *Setsuyō gundan*, Ch. IX, p. 22. 7 L. c., Ch. XII, p. 32. 8 Above, Ch. III, § 5.

The *Roku Jizō mairi* at Yedo began in the Genroku era (1688—1703), when in 1691 the priest MUKŪ had erected six Jizō's on different spots of Yedo, and six other Jizō's, erected in 1716 by the priest SEIGEN, were thenceforth visited in the same way[1].

In *Shimo Nagayoshi village*, 下永吉村, Kazusa province, there is a *Jizō-dō* (chapel), the principal idol of which is called *Ikimi* (生身) *Jizō* or "The living Jizō". Tradition says that in the Genroku era Bishop YŪTEN, 祐天僧正[2], visited this village and passed the night in the house of a certain Hayashi Shirōzaemon. This man asked his opinion about a strange dream which he had had about snake's eggs in his house, as he did not know whether it were a good or a bad omen. The bishop advised him to erect a Jizō chapel and worship Jizō, and promised to carve a Jizō image for him. After having indicated the spot where the chapel had to be erected, the bishop went home. Afterwards, when he had become *jūshoku* (superior) of Zōjōji in Shiba (Yedo), he kept his promise and sent Shirōzaemon this image, for which he erected the chapel still to be seen there (at least in 1901). From then Jizō's protection gave great wealth and felicity to this family, but Shirōzaemon's grandson, who did not believe in the Bodhisattva, neglected the chapel, which decayed without being repaired. Then the house fell into poverty and continuous disease, till the man repaired the chapel and worshipped the image following the advice of a diviner at Yedo. Then wealth and health returned to the house, and soon the rumour of this Jizō's divine power spread. Old and young, men and women flocked from far and near to his chapel and worshipped his miraculous image[3].

We have seen above[4] that the Genroku era (1688—1703) was probably the time when the cult of Jizō of the Sai no kawara began to spread. We supposed that his images, from olden times often placed along the roads, had superseded the ancient Sae no kami at the crossways towards the end of the seventeenth century, and that he also became the special protector of the souls of deceased children about the same time.

According to the *Shinchomonshū*, 新著聞集 (about 1700)[5], in 1694 a little boy in Yedo, who was ill, asked for some *shari-sui* ("relic-water"). After having drunk this he bowed before the image of Jizō and called himself "the Bodhisattva's play-thing". Then he recited some prayers and died. This short tale illustrates Jizō's being considered the friend and protector of the little ones, especially when they were going to the other world.

Finally, we learn from HAYASHI RAZAN, 林羅山, the famous scholar who

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[1] Cf. above, Ch. II, § 5.
[2] A. D. 1636—1718.
[3] *Fūzoku gwahō*, Nr. 238 (Sept. 1901), p. 40.
[4] Ch. III, § 2, B.
[5] *Kinsei kidan zenshū*, p. 182.

lived 1584—1657, that Jizō was believed to be the *honchi*, 本地, of *Hiyoshi no Jū-zenshi no miya*, 日吉の十禪師の宮, i. e. that this Shintō deity was a manifestation (avatar) of the Bodhisattva[1].

§ 4. *Eighteenth century.*

*Hanakake* or "Noseless" Jizō of *Honseiji* in Fukagawa at Yedo, famous for curing all kinds of diseases, was erected in 1717, and worshipped by thousands of pilgrims according to KIKUOKA SENRYŌ, the author of the *Honchō zokugen shi* (written in 1746), quoted above[2]. ARAI HAKUSEKI, 新井白石, the celebrated historian (1656—1725), states that this noseless stone image stood in the cemetery of Honseiji in the *Honjo* district (this is a mistake), and that from the 16th day of the 7th month of Kyōhō 2 (1717) till the end of the ninth month such large crowds of pilgrims went there, that the enormous sum of 2500 *ryō* (one ryō was about 10 yen) was offered by them. According to HAKUSEKI the first year of the Manji era (1658) was written on the back of the image as the time of its erection. Nobody, says he, knew why so many pilgrims came to worship this Jizō especially in those months[3].

We saw above[4], that in 1745 a woman erected a big bronze image of Jizō on Kōya san on behalf of the soul of her deceased husband.

As to the cult of *Emmyō Jizō* of *Shōshuji* at Hiroo, mentioned in the *Edo meisho zue*, we may refer to the second paragraph of this chapter.

In the Kwampō era (1741—1743) an image of *Shōgun Jizō* was placed in the Atago-sha (a Shintō shrine) in Yukinoshita mura, Sagami province, as we learned above[5] from the *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō*.

The *Saezurigusa* gives a funny story about a stone image of Jizō in Shinagawa near Yedo. In 1776 the rumour spread that this Jizō was heard reciting holy texts. Crowds of peopls went there to listen and actually heard a humming sound which seemed to be produced by the image. But the miracle turned out to be a very simple matter, for when the *amaoi* (the covering to protect the image against rain) was taken off, a nest of bees proved to be the cause of the sound!

The *Fūzoku gwahō*[6] enumerates 48 Jizō's visited in the southern part of Yedo, as well as the 48 Jizō's of the Bluff (*Yama-no-te*) and those of the eastern part of the city. The custom of visiting 48 Jizō's in a special part of Yedo arose in the Kwansei era (1789—1800) and was continued to the present day. This so-called "*Yedo nambō (yama-no-te, tōhō) shijū hachi jo Jizō son mairi*, 江戸南方 (山の手, 東方) 四十八所地藏尊參, and also the *Nijū hachi jo Jizō son mairi* or "Visiting 28 Jizō's" (based upon

[1] *Honchō jinja kō* (after 1614), Ch. I, 2, p. 23; cf. above, Sect. III, Ch. IV, § 4.
[2] Ch. III, § 5. [3] *Hakuseki sensei shinsho*, 白石先生紳書, Ch. VIII, p. 2.
[4] Ch. III, § 3. [5] Ch. II, § 6. [6] Nr. 67 (Febr. 1894), p. 75.

the 28 blessings bestowed by this Bodhisattva upon his believers according to the *Sūtra on his Original Vow*[1]) were and are practised in imitation of the well-known *Kwannon sanjūsanjo mairi* or "Visiting the 33 Kwannon shrines".

Among the 48 Jizō's of the South of Yedo we find eight *Emmyō* Jizō's, four *Koyasu*, one *Kosodate haraobi*, 子育腹帶, one *Haraobi* and one *Ko-kaeshi* (子返) Jizō. *Hi-yoke*, 火除, *Hi-keshi*, 火消, and *Shōgun* Jizō ward off and extinguish fire, while *Byōchi* (病治) Jizō cures the sick. *Nyotai migawari*, 女體身代 ("Female substitute"), and *Migawari* Jizō act as substitutes for the believers. On the Bluff there are three *Koyasu* and two *Haraobi* Jizō's, two *Migawari* and four *Karada-san* (伽羅陀山) Jizō's. Also on the east side one *Koyasu*, two *Anzan*, 安產 ("Easy birth"), two *Ko-sodate*, one *Ko-sazuke*, 子授 ("Child giving"), and four *Karada-san* Jizō's are found, while *I-ō*, 醫王 ("Medical King") Jizō is apparently believed to cure disease, and *Ibo*, 疣 ("Wart") Jizō is invocated against warts. In the South of the city two, and in the East one *Shio* ("Salt") Jizō remind us of the salt offerings mentioned before. Further, we find *Gwamman*, 願滿, *Mangwan*, 滿願, and *Nichigen gwamman* (日限願滿) Jizō (i. e. "Vow-fulfilling" and "Day-limit (cf. *Hi-kagiri*) Vow-fulfilling" Jizō, as well as *Negaijō*, 願成 ("Wish-fulfilling") and *Nyo-i-man*, 如意滿 ("Will-fulfilling") Jizō. *Yofuka*, 夜深 ("Late at night") and *Asahi* (朝日) Jizō evidently guard their worshippers during the night and at daybreak, *Yakuyoke*, 厄除 ("Removing danger") Jizō protects them against all kinds of danger, *Ki-koku*, 歸國 ("Returning to one's country") Jizō causes them to return safely to their country or province, *Mi-okuri* (見送) Jizō accompanies them when setting out on a journey, which may mean also the journey to Paradise (cf. *Indō* Jizō). *Shusse* (出世) Jizō causes them to rise in the world, *Tokuju* (德壽) Jizō gives them virtue and long life, *Kai-un* (開運) Jizō causes their fortune to change for the better, *Fukuman* (福滿) Jizō gives them fullness of felicity, *Yo-tsugi* (世嗣) Jizō blesses them with descendants (heirs), whereas *Ta-ue* (田植) Jizō apparently assists the peasants.

Thus a large number of names were given to this popular Bodhisattva, whose shrines were visited by the Yedo people in a fixed order down to the present day.

## § 5. *Nineteenth century.*

The *Shimpen Aizu fūdoki*[2] states that in the compound of *Saikwōji*, 西光寺, in Wakamatsu, the capital of the Aizu district (Iwashiro province), there was a Jizō chapel with a *Hikagiri* or "Day-limit" Jizō. We found the same name, given to Emmyō Jizō of Shōshuji, explained as indicating that the pilgrims used to fix a number of days for him[3]. The Jizō of Saikwōji was visited by many believers.

[1] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 2.

[2] 新編會津風土記, composed in 1809 by the Daimyō of Aizu. Ch. XIX, Section Wakamatsu, V, p. 23.

[3] This Chapter, § 2, B.

The *Kaikokushi* (1814) taught us about the cults of *Shōgun* and *Koyasu* Jizō in Kai province, still prevailing in the author's days[1].

The *Shōzan chomon kishū* (1849) gave an interesting account about two Jizō images, made of stone and placed in the field on behalf of the souls of two horses. This happened in Mino province in 1826[2]. According to the same work the Jizō of Tomi mura, 富村, some ten miles west of Yedo, was believed to walk about at night, for which reason he had the very profane name of *Tomi no yobai Jizō (yobai* is going out secretly to have illicit intercourse with another person). It is a curious peculiarity of the Japanese people that they may combine a strong faith in a deity (for this Jizō had much *reiken!)* with the most shocking profanity against the same divine being.

The *Shimpen Sagami fūdoki kō* (1841), which we quoted above[3] with regard to a Jizō who was famous for curing the nipples of women, who prayed to him, also relates about a Jizō standing in a chapel at *Fukusei* (福泉) village, in Ashigara Kami district, Sagami province. This Jizō was called *Keshō*, 化粧, or "Transformed and adorned" *Jizō*, because those who prayed to him used to cover the Bodhisattva's face with *o shiroi* (白粉, the whitelead cosmetic used for powdering the face) or with *gofun*, 胡粉 (chalk or carbonate of lime prepared by burning shells)[4].

The *Owari meisho zue* (1841) mentions *Nawate* (縄手) Jizō *(nawate* is a path through the ricefields) at *Roku Jizō mura*[5], who was known as a Bodhisattva of surpassing miraculous power[6].

The *Shimotsuke kokushi* (1850) gave us details about *Koyasu* and *Emmyō* Jizō, as well as about *Hashika* Jizō, famous for curing the measles, and the ancient Jizō of Iwafune, who were all worshipped from olden times down to the author's time.

The *Saezurigusa* (1859), quoted above with regard to *Shōgun Jizō* as Hachiman's *shintai*[7] and the healing Jizō of *Yōshū-in* at Nagoya[8], mentions *Ingwa*, 因果, *Fumibako*, 文箱, and *Zenizuka* (錢塚) Jizō in Asakusa-dera, Hanakake ("Noseless") Jizō in Fukagawa (Yedo), *Ushiro-muki* (後向, "Turning backwards") Jizō in Minowa (Kōzuke province), *Meyami* ("Disease of the eyes"), *Bake*, 化 ("Transformation"), *Shibarare* ("Bound, tied") Jizō in Kyōto,[9] as well as *Hōroku*, 炮碌 ("Earthen pan") Jizō in Atsuta (Owari province)[10].

The *Kōya no shiori* (1895) gave us the names of three Jizō images on Kōya san, namely *Indō*, *Kazutori* and *Dokumi* Jizō, given them on account of their leading the souls to the Pure Land, counting the times of visiting the *Oku-in*, and tasting the offerings for the ancestral hall[11].

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[1] Ch. II, § 6, and Ch. III, § 1. [2] Above, Ch. III, § 3. [3] Ch. III, § 5.
[4] Ch. XX, Ashigara Kami gōri, Ch. IX, p. 28. [5] Cf. above, Ch. II, § 5.
[6] *Owari meisho zue, kōhen*, Ch. I, p. 21. [7] Above, Ch. II, § 6.
[8] Above, Ch. III, § 5. [9] *Saezurigusa*, Ch. CI, p. 25.
[10] Ch. CXVI, p. 29. [11] Above, Ch. II, § 2.

A modern Japanese work on the Tantric school in Japan, entitled *Himitsu jirin*,[1] 秘密辭林, or "Dictionary of Mystics", states that in the *Kongō-kai* or "Diamond (Vajra) World" (of the ideas) Jizō is not represented, only an "Earth-god", 地神, on the southern side of the central group (on the inner corner, on the other corners the gods of wind, water and fire are placed). Ākāçagarbha is seen there in the central southern group (on the nothern side), and Vajragarbha on the southern side of the same group; but Kshitigarbha does not appear. On the southern side of this maṇḍala, however, there is a Bodhisattva called *Vajraketu* or "Vajra-flag" *(Kongō-dō,* 金剛幢*)*, who is declared identical with Kshitigarbha. The banner or flag is actually one of his common attributes according to the Tantric doctrine, and it is often placed upon the lotus in his hand. Other secret names[2] of Jizō are *Higwan Kongō*, 悲願金剛, *Hibin Kongō*, 悲愍金剛, and *Yogwan Kongō*, 與願金剛, i. e. "Vajra of the Compassionate Vow, "Vajra of Compassion", "Vajra of the Granted Vow".

As to the *Taizō-kai* or "World of the Womb-receptacle" (i. e. of the phenomena), the name Jizō is found there among those of nine "Venerable Ones", 尊, represented on the northern side of the maṇḍala. According to an old tradition six of these nine were called the Six Jizō's, whose names we have given above[3]; one of these six was the name Jizō itself. He is represented sitting on a red lotus; his right hand, kept before his breast, holds a precious pearl, while his left hand carries a *nyo-i hōdō*, 如意寶幢, or a "precious banner which grants all desires"; his image is flesh-coloured. The principal Jizō shape of the Secret Doctrine is said in this work to be the *Bodhisattva* type. As to his *magic formulae* ("true words", *shingon*), these are as follows: 唵訶々々微三摩曳莎訶, and 唵訶々々蘇多拏莎訶, beginning with *Ōm* (唵) and ending with *svāhā* (莎訶), the final benediction usually closing such formulae. The other characters are meaningless abracadabra, although the author of the *Himitsu jirin*, a bishop of the *Shingon* sect, explains the three 訶 as the three *yāna*, 微三摩曳 as "wonderful", and 蘇多拏 as *sudāna*, which he asserts to indicate the Dharmakaya (Dharma-body). The first *shingon* (the ordinary one) is that of the *Jizō-in* (院) of the *Taizō-mandara*, the second that of the *Kwannon-in* of the same *mandara*. Their *mudrās* are also different; the first is described as "clasping the two fists together, with the middle fingers erected but not joined." This is the "flag-mudrā" *(setumudrā,* 旗印, *ki-in)*, in which the two fists clasped together are said to represent the full moon, expressing the great charity and compassion of the buddha-heart, while the two middle fingers, stretched and opened, indicate the banner of impartiality and innate wisdom which waves above the world beneath and illumines it.

[1] Composed by the *Daisōzu* (大僧都, Bishop) TOMITA GYŌJUN (or KŌJUN), 富田斅純, and edited by the Tōkyō branch of the *Kaji-sekai-sha*, 加持世界社, in Tōkyō, Meiji 44 (1911). Pp. 346, 492 sq., 718, 1122. Cf. SEITAN, *Kokkwa* Nrs. 154, 156, 159, 160.

[2] 密號. [3] Above, Ch. II, § 5.

As to the mudrā of the *Kwannon-in,* this is according to the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*[1] as follows: fists joined, with both the ring fingers and the thumbs erected and joined. A third mudrā shows the same form, but with the little fingers also erected and joined. The *Lanca* sign for the syllable *ha* is used as his mystic sign, as we stated before. Special value is attached to the Sūtra on *Mahāvairocana, Dai Nichi Nyorai,* of whose innate wisdom Jizō is said to be a manifestation on the southern side of the *Kongō-kai,* while the Jizō on the western side of the *Taizō-kai* is said to represent this Dhyāni-buddha's impartiality.

All these details, borrowed from ancient books of the Tantric school, are still of great importance to the priests and adherents of the *Shingon* sect, and are treated and explained by them with great earnestness.

The *Fūzoku gwahō,* finally, gave us information about the numerous Jizō's of Yedo, worshipped to the present day[2], and about the curious marriage customs still prevailing in some villages, where Jizō images were placed before the house of the newly married couple[3].

As to grave monuments with Jizō figures, these are erected on behalf of the dead now-a-days as well as formerly, as we stated above[4].

Thus we see that New Japan goes on worshipping this mighty Boddhisattva and imploring his assistance and protection in all the phases of human life.

## CHAPTER VII.

## CONCLUSIONS.

### § 1. *Ti-tsang in China.*

When looking back upon the long road of Kshitigarbha's history, we see him rising higher and higher and his worship spreading more and more among the people. In India he was a Bodhisattva of secondary rank, not much worshipped before the Tantric School proclaimed him to be one of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. This was also the main reason why Tibet knew and worshipped him; in Turkistan, however, his cult seems to have had a broader base, as far as we may judge from the results of the scientific expeditions.

Chinese works taught us that Ti-tsang's cult spread in the neighbourhood of Nanking in the first half of the fifth century, and that his effigy was painted by a famous Chinese artist in the beginning of the sixth century. The seventh century brought HÜEN-TSANG'S new translation of the *Sūtra on the Ten Wheels* as well as the first translation of the *Sūtra on Kshitigarbha's Original Vow,* and in the eighth century the Tantric School introduced the cult of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas. Further,

[1] Cf. above, Sect. I, Ch. I, § 5.
[2] Above, this chapter, § 4.
[3] Above, Ch. III, § 1. [4] Ch. III, § 3.

six Ti-tsangs were invented for saving the beings of the six *gati*. Moreover, Taoism blended with Buddhism created the idea of the Ten Kings of Hell and placed Ti-tsang above these kings as the Supreme Lord of the Dark Region. These Ten Kings, well-known in China, are rarely met with in Japan, whereas the conception of the Six Ti-tsangs, extremely popular in the Land of the Rising Sun, did not spread in China.

The interesting Chinese works, which blend Taoism with Buddhism, all belong to the Tantric doctrine and call Ti-tsang "the Tantra-ruler of Darkness", who ranks above the Ten Kings and determines the fate of the souls. At the same time, however, they sometimes describe him as the compassionate priest, whose *khakkhara* shakes and opens the doors of hell, and whose precious pearl illumines the Region of Darkness. In a Japanese work of this kind, attributed to NICHIREN, the Bodhisattva is identified with Yama, the fifth of the Ten Kings.

The *Yuh-lih* showed us Ti-tsang and Kwan-yin, the two compassionate saviours from hell, agreeing in preaching repentance as the way to salvation. On his birthday, the thirtieth day of the seventh month, in the evening of which the Ullambana, the festival of the dead, comes to an end and hell is closed, Ti-tsang preached forgiveness to be given to repentant sinners, to the Ten Kings of Hell who came to worship him. This idea was sanctioned by Shang-Ti, the Taoistic Emperor of Heaven and the supreme Judge of the dead, and applauded by Kwan-yin.

A Korean prince of the eighth century, whose holy body after death was gilded and enshrined on Mount Kiu-hwa, was declared to be a manifestation of Ti-tsang. The great number of pilgrims who visited his shrine from olden times proves the intensity of the Ti-tsang cult from the eighth century down to the present day.

To the Chinese Buddhists Ti-tsang still ranks next to Kwan-yin, with whom he is often connected. He is represented either as a Bodhisattva or as a priest, his ordinary shape in Japan; in maṇḍalas of the Tantric School he mostly appears as a Bodhisattva, and also in sanctuaries of other sects he is represented in this way. In many temples special halls or buildings are devoted to him as well as to the Ten Kings of Hell.

## § 2. *Jizō in Japan.*

Neither the ancient Japanese annals nor the old *fūdoki* and *monogatari* mention this Bodhisattva. The first work which speaks about him, the *Fusō ryakki*, dates from the 12th century. This indicates that his cult was not much spread before that time. Yet there are ancient Jizō sanctuaries which were erected in earlier times, e. g. those of *Ki no moto* and *Iwafune* (8th century), and that of *Mibu* (probably 9th century), as well as old Jizō images, attributed to famous priests as GYŌGI BOSATSU (8th century), KŌBŌ, DENGYŌ and JIKAKU DAISHI (9th century). Although the traditions about the makers of those images are not trustworthy, the fact that the names of those priests were so often mentioned in this respect seems to point

to their having introduced and propagated the belief in this Bodhisattva, known and worshipped in China as early as the fifth century.

The cult of the *Six Jizō's* seems to date from the ninth century, when the Shingon priests (KŌBŌ c. s.) seem to have introduced them from China and the Tendai sect took them up. They became very popular. In the twelfth century TAIRA KIYOMORI placed them at the six roads leading to the capital, that they might protect the passers-by. This was the first instance of Jizō being worshipped as a deity of the roads. Their effigies were carved on hexagonal stone lanterns on behalf of the souls of the dead, and their images were placed along the roads. Yet it seems to have taken many centuries before they superseded the ancient Sae no kami, the phallic gods of the crossways. The so-called *Roku Jizō mairi*, i. e. successively visiting six Jizō shrines, was started in Yedo towards the close of the 17th century.

*Shōgun Jizō*, the "Conqueror of the Armies" (a translation of the sanscrit word *prasenajit*) is not mentioned in the sūtras nor in other Chinese texts; yet in Annam Ti-tsang is sometimes represented riding on horseback. He is said to have been worshipped for the first time about A. D. 800 by the Hossō priest ENCHIN HŌSHI of Kiyomizu-dera at Kyōto on behalf of his friend Tamaramaro. This *Shōgun Jizō* was identified with *Atago Gongen*, the "Manifestation of Mount Atago" at Kyōto, an ancient Thundergod who was believed to protect his worshippers against fire. As Atago was the centre of the first *shugendō* priests, who belonged to the *Shingon* sect, and ENCHIN, a *Hossō* priest, was as such also an adept of the Yoga doctrine, the cult of Shōgun Jizō apparently belonged to the Tantric school. This Jizō, represented on horseback, carrying a khakkhara and a precious pearl, and wearing a helmet on his head and a sacerdotal robe over his armour, was very much worshipped by the warriors of later times as their tutelary god, whose images they erected on the battlefields and at the entrances of their castles. In their hands the peaceful saviour of the living beings even became a *shintai* or "god-body" of the war-god Hachiman. As Atago-Gongen the function of the ancient Thundergod who had been declared his *avatar* or manifestation was transferred to him, so that we found him worshipped throughout Japan as a protector against fire as well as against the armies of the enemy.

From olden times *Koyasu Jizō* was the giver of easy birth. The celebrated Jizō's of Ki no moto and Mibu were famous in this respect, and sand from the compound of the Mibu temple was considered an excellent charm for obtaining easy birth, when being applied to the body or held in the hand. The old custom of placing Jizō images before the house of a newly married couple in the bridal night is interesting with regard to these facts.

Jizō's original and main function, that of *saving the souls from hell*, was treated of in many old legends. Even King Yama, who was sometimes identified with him, had to bow before him and to release the culprits, whom he, Jizō, wished to

send back to the upper world. In the seventeenth century he seems to have become the special protector of the souls of deceased children who had to pile up pebbles on the beach of the river of hell. It is no wonder that his effigy was engraved on tombstones, which is still done at the present day. The erection of these monuments had, however, a double aim, for Jizō was not only believed to save the souls from hell, but also to *lead them to Paradise.*

The latter idea became more prevalent in the Kamakura period, after the founding of the *Jōdo* sect (in A. D. 1174), when Sukhāvatī, the "Pure Land", had become the aim of all devout believers in Amida (i. e. Amitābha), the Lord of this blissful Paradise. Yet Amitābha and his heaven were known in Japan much earlier, and in the tenth century this doctrine was preached by the famous ESHIN SŌZU, who was also a believer in Jizō. In the magnificent picture, painted by this priest, we see Jizō, with the precious pearl in his left hand and with his right making the abhaya mudrā (which bestows fearlessness upon the worshippers) sitting at Amitābha's side, who, accompanied by his twenty five Bodhisattvas, descends to welcome the soul of a holy man. This is evidence of Jizō's playing one of the principal parts in Amida's heaven, and it explains his ever rising popularity after the spreading of the Jōdo sect. His connection with Amida is also clear from the fact that in A. D. 1030 Jōtomon-in, the Emperor Ichijō's consort, had a chapel built in which she erected images of Amida, Kwannon and Seishi (his chief attendants), Jizō and Nagārjuna, the first teacher of the Amitābha doctrine. This shows that she considered Jizō to be a prominent figure in Amida's retinue. Thus he became the *leader to Paradise,* in which fonction he was afterwards worshipped under the name of *Indō* or "Leading" *Jizō.*

Not only the dead, but also the living stood under Jizō's protection, as we learned from the cults of *Koyasu* and *Shōgun* Jizō. But beyond giving easy birth and warding off enemies and fire he was also famous for suffering (in hell) or working as a *substitute* for those who worshipped him, in which cases his images afterwards wore the traces of their labour. He also healed the sick, and many of his images were known for curing special diseases.

Jizō's worship began to spread among the gentry in the *Gempei* time, i. e. in the twelfth century. Yoritomo and Kiyomori were both faithful believers in him. Kamakura became the centre of his cult, which under the Hōjō's, in the *Kamakura* period, rose continually, so that his effigy became very frequent in religious art.

He was mostly represented as a priest with an *urṇa* and a halo, and his attributes were the *khakkhara* and the *cintāmaṇi* (fig. 32), while the Bodhisattva shape with the lotus or the almsbowl and the abhayamudrā had become rare. The *Jizō engi,* i. e. his history and his miraculous actions, were the contents of many *makimono's* of the Kamakura and Ashikaga periods. The latter time was the culminating point of the Jizō cult. The Shōguns Takauji, Yoshiakira and others erected temples

for him and offered his pictures, painted by themselves. Takauji especially had a very devout belief in him.

The *Tokugawa* period saw his worship spread all over the country. From the higher classes and the priests it now came among the lower people and made him one of the most popular deities of daily life. At the same time a great many legends sprang up about his having possessed and severely punished those who had defiled or derided his images. The title of "Lengthener of Life", *Emmyō*, hitherto only given to *Fugen* (Samantabhadra), now became also one of Jizō's numerous epithets in consequence of a sūtra written by a Japanese priest. Two young attendants, Rulers of Good and Evil, in accordance with ideas introduced from the continent, were placed on either side of him.

In the *Genroku* era, at the end of the seventeenth century, the custom of successively visiting a fixed number of Jizō sanctuaries arose in all provinces, and at last he became, next to Kwannon, the most popular Bodhisattva of Japan. The ancient phallic gods of the roads had to make place for him, and the pebbles, formerly laid at their feet by the passing travellers, were henceforth deposited at the Jizō images by the roadside. He also became the special protector of the children, especially of those who died and whose souls had to accumulate pebbles on the bank of the river in hell. Many of the tombstones representing Jizō's figure were erected on behalf of the souls of boys or girls.

The present day, with all its western civilization, sees our gentle, merciful Bodhisattva gloriously maintaining his mighty position and living in the people's heart like in the days of yore.

At the close of this paper I avail myself of this opportunity to express my best thanks to the editors of the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Dr. OTTO KÜMMEL and Dr. WILLIAM COHN, for their kind assistance as regards the publication and illustration of my work. At the same time I tender my hearty thanks to Miss E. SCHMIDT for kindly correcting the language, to my learned Japanese friend and teacher Mr. K. KAZATO in Tōkyō for giving me a great many interesting details referring to this subject, and to Dr. H. H. JUYNBOLL, Mr. F. G. KRAMP, Mr. PETRUCCI, and the Professors CHAVANNES, SYLVAIN LÉVI and DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN for the important information, kindly given me on different particulars. As to Professor SPEYER, I deeply regret the death of that eminent scholar, whose great kindness and assistance I shall never forget.

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